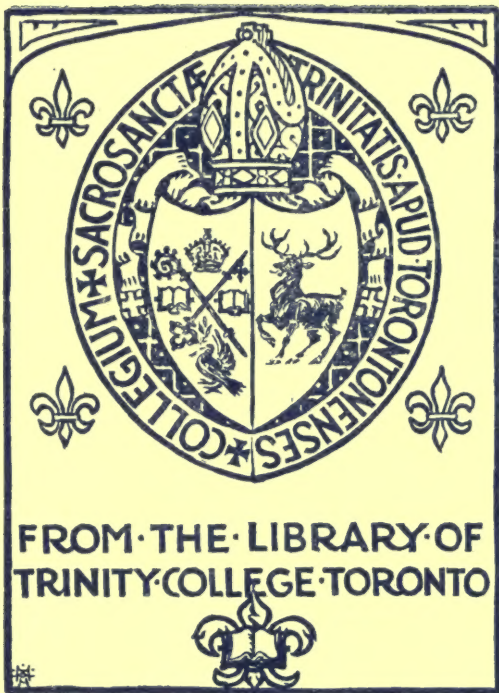


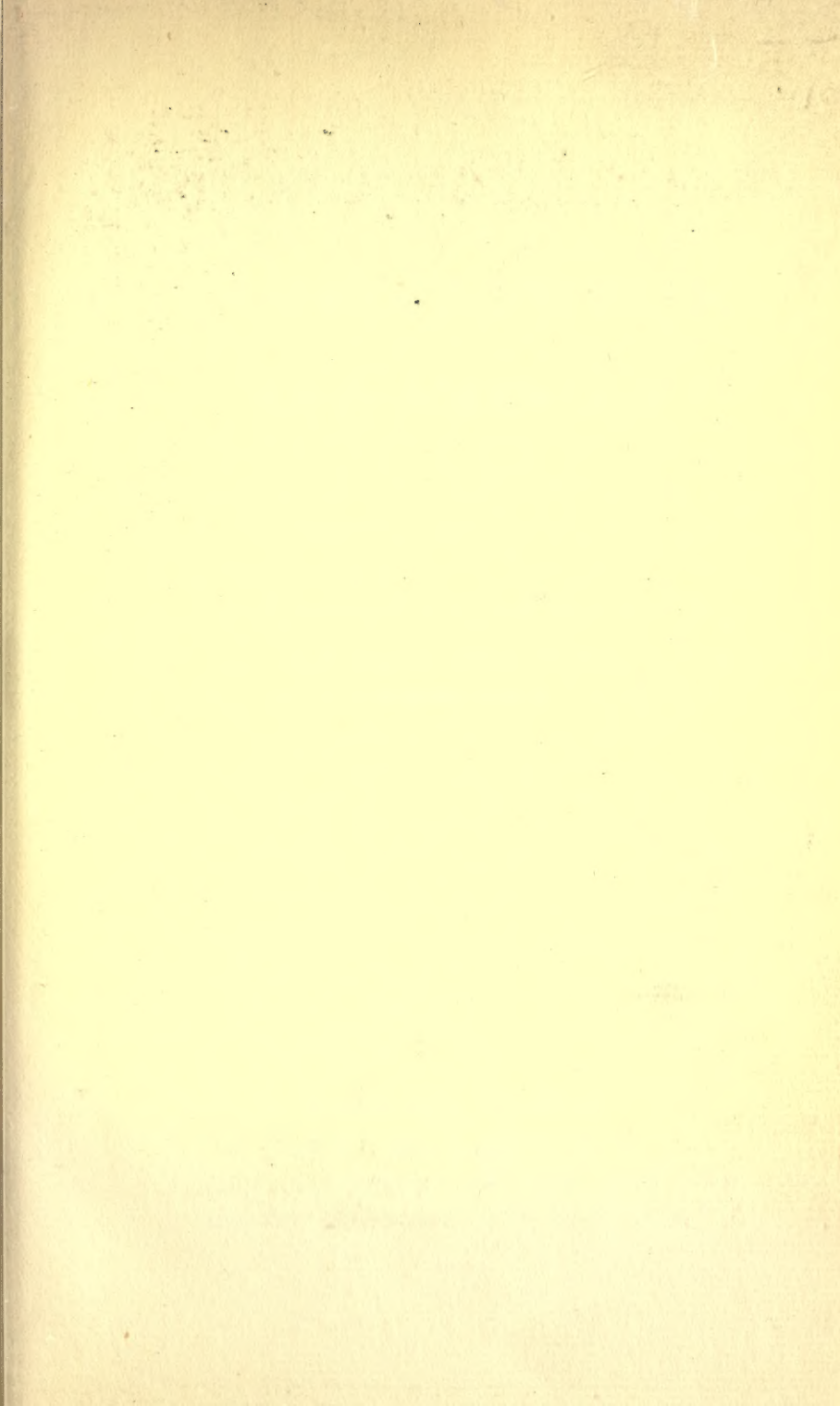
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THE  
HOLY COMMUNION  
IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AND AMERICA

BY

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HUMPHREY MILFORD  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK  
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY

1919

BX

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AUG 1 1978

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED TO  
SARAH JOSEPHINE MEREDITH LANGSTAFF  
WHOSE EFFORTS DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS TO  
ORGANIZE THE BRITISH WOMEN IN AMERICA HAVE  
AIDED MATERIALLY IN THE COMMON CAUSE  
OF THE WAR AND RESULTED IN A TRUER  
UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE  
PEOPLE OF BOTH NATIONS  
THROUGHOUT THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.





## PREFACE

THE Anglican Church is one of the bonds between Great Britain and America. And the binding force in the Church has always centered in its Service of the Holy Communion. The part such a service has played in the history of the English-speaking people is of peculiar interest at a time when the two political divisions are drawing together. For this reason and because of the liturgical revision which is being urged throughout the Anglican Church to-day the facts as they are arranged in this volume should be of interest and assistance to any reader.

The first complete texts of the Holy Communion in the English language which were used generally in England, in Scotland, and in what is now the United States of America, were respectively those versions of the Communion Service put forth in 1549, 1552, and 1662. These I have set down and corrected according to the present Uses in the respective countries. The readings common to the original and present Uses are in capitals; the original readings omitted to-day are in small letters, and the corrections or additions used to-day are in italics. Above the prayers and in brackets are indicated whatever changes are now made in the original order of prayers.

On the page with the important changes in the texts I have written comments upon them. Comments on the changes in the texts of England which

have an evident application to the texts of Scotland and America are not repeated. Cross-references to the five great texts of the Liturgy are noted at the beginning of the volume.

To each of the three sets of texts I have prefixed an historical introduction. These are not histories of the several countries, nor do they pretend to be histories of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, but they indicate the treatment which the Liturgy in English has received and the effect it has had on people from its first introduction to the time of its recognition by the Anglican Church in each of the three countries, in the standard form which is used to-day.

On a subject that has always been a choice bone of contention between Protestant and Catholic the reader will naturally look for some party stand. My experience as an Anglican priest which has chiefly been spent in urging the undergraduates of a large Malay University to be faithful to their Roman Catholic churches, is small in the use of the Liturgy as a celebrant. The first seven times it was my privilege to celebrate the Holy Communion perhaps explain my position.

My first Celebration after my Ordination by the Right Rev. C. H. Brent, now the Senior Chaplain of the American forces in France, was in a community of Filipinos who had drifted away from the Roman Catholic Church. Their long Spanish tradition made the elaborations with which the Middle Ages sought to beautify our Service a second nature to them. And the native priest who assisted me saw that their worship was not distracted by the lack of those symbols.

The second opportunity I had was in the great Cathedral at Manila. There the Service provided for a colony of British and Americans. All Christians partook of our Communion. Even with cope and altar lights in comparison with other churches of the city the Cathedral Service was most simple.

The third time was in the pine forests of the Tropics among the head-hunters. These Igorots, perhaps the most primitive people in the world, needed the gestures, the colours, the lights, the bells, &c., to help with their understanding of the Service. Everything of the sort that had been used to help the primitive people of Britain was employed here in the mountains of Luzon.

The next Service was in one of the most important Chinese congregations of the Far East. Just why those unfathomable people chose to have the mystery of the Lord's Supper celebrated in the most *dour* simplicity, I do not know. The colour lay in the gorgeous robes of the congregation. But certainly, as one placed the Sacred Element in the yellow palm of the outstretched hand and heard the Chinese deacon who followed saying his sentence in whatever native dialect the individual communicant might be most familiar with, one felt that Our Lord's command was being fulfilled as He would have it.

The fifth Celebration was in one of the old Colonial parishes of New Jersey. There, what seems to be a growing tendency of the Church in America was developed to a large extent. The full robes, &c., which were used according to their Anglican Usage showed the care and reverence of the parishioners.

Shortly after that, when the danger of submarines was most imminent I was asked to celebrate on a British transport in a convoy bringing part of the American Army to England. The manner of celebration was as circumstances permitted. I had with me a pewter Service that had been used in America almost a hundred years before the political separation between the United States and Great Britain. Certainly, as we knelt about a table in the ship's saloon, Americans and British, members of many Christian Divisions, in the midst of the most appalling danger of history, God seemed to draw us into a Communion in whose reality we knew we were safe.

The seventh Celebration I held was at the hospital in the Examination Schools of Oxford University, where, as a private in the English Army, I was awaiting my discharge. Simple in its appointments, the Service seemed in correctness of form and emphasis on the mystery to answer a desire which the efficiency of army discipline and the closeness to sudden death would naturally create in the life of a soldier.

The variety of my short experience in the use of the Liturgy has shown me the value of party definitions. In as far as the Middle position is a compromise, it seems at best temporary. My ideal lies in the combination of the two normal parties. And in the Mystery of the Holy Communion I feel those extremes find their perfect combination without compromise.

The manuscript of this little book has been my constant companion through the early romance of my ministry. Now separating, as school friends

part to enter into the business of life, we would acknowledge a precious indebtedness to those places in England, America, and the Far East, that have become part of us and to the wonderful friends who have made things possible and worth while. Chiefly are we indebted to Dr. and Mrs. J. Elliot Langstaff for their unfailing encouragement and help. Thanks are due to His Grace The Archbishop of Canterbury for the interest he has expressed in the work, and to my tutor, Canon F. E. Brightman. Bishop Boyd Carpenter and Canon Scott Holland gave us the encouragement of their enthusiasm. The Rev. B. J. Kidd and the Rev. L. Pullan have read through the manuscript and, together with other Oxford authorities, commended it. Sir William Osler, Sir Herbert Warren, the Rev. Joseph Hooper, and others, have kindly advised with the publication, and the Controller has very considerably given it the distinction of being the first post-bellum work undertaken by the Press. Lord Eltham spent many hours helping with the more irksome part of the composition, and P. H. G. Pye Smith, D. H. Banner, Peter Warren, and other college friends helped with historical suggestions and in many indirect ways. There are others whose names from very modesty we omit here, but the man to whom we are most indebted, be he friend or foe, is our reader.

J. BRETT LANGSTAFF.

ST. MARK'S CHURCH,  
NORTH AUDLEY STREET,  
LONDON, W.

*Easter, 1919.*



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(*Note.*—I have not attempted in these references to give the final sources nor all the places where my statements are substantiated, but I have felt it of more value to the general reader merely to note convenient authorities.)

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THE LITURGY OF THE HOLY COMMUNION  
IN THE  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

THE recorded Liturgy, practised for years before it was written down, seems from the first to have had the same general structure in the various places to which Christianity spread—in the Near East, in Rome and the country about, and in Spain. In the Near East the natural love for elaboration soon affected the Liturgies, and it was probably a reaction against this tendency that simplified the Liturgy of Rome so early. In 596 this Liturgy was brought to the heathen in England by Augustine. In Spain and in Gaul and as far as Britain the very nature of the country without the luxury of an old civilization compelled certain simplicity, but the simplified Use of Rome was seldom seen much beyond the environs of the city until the time of Charles the Great. This emperor, crowned in 800, with the idea that a uniform order of worship would make for a firmer union of his country, took the Roman Rite as best suited to his purpose and enforced its use throughout the land.

As liturgical enlargements were effected among the Franks they were adopted in England. But except for the private prayers said silently by the priest while vesting and at Communion the Uses of the Liturgy in York, Hereford, Lincoln, and other dioceses differed remarkably little. The Use in the Sarum Diocese became the most popular. Largely

through the action of Richard Poore, Bishop from 1197 to 1215, the dissatisfaction with the site of Old Sarum had been relieved by moving the episcopal seat to the present location of Salisbury, and the See from that time became known as New Sarum. Poore codified his diocesan Usage, which is commonly attributed to Osmund, the author of the constitution of the Cathedral. The clear way in which this was done caused most of the churches throughout England and Scotland to follow it.

In the fourteenth century the vigour of Church life was not with the opulent bishops, but in the intellectual centres. John Wicliffe, coming from Oxford, started a movement of reform, and the translations of Scripture which followed this prepared the way for the acceptance of an English Liturgy. In 1526, seven years before Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury, Tyndale's New Testament was introduced into England. Then appeared the Bishops' Book, immediately followed by the authorization of the Great Bible by Henry VIII in 1538. Henry, who had considered in 1546, a year before his death, the abolition of the Mass, did not go so far as to authorize the translation of that Liturgy.

In 1547 an Act of Parliament forbade certain abuses of the Sacrament that had grown up, after May 1, 1548, and ordered the reception of the Elements 'sub utraque specie'. But the efforts of a few enthusiasts were not enough to effect further government reform in the Service. A plan suggested by Bishop Tunstall, however, which resulted in the *Order of Communion*, served as a wedge for opening the entire Service to the people.

The Order of Communion in 1548 introduced the Communion of the people immediately after the priest, and also certain accessory forms in English, but the Latin Mass was not to be changed. The following vernacular forms were appended: exhortations which rather departed from the Sarum in making auricular Confession optional, an invitation to Confession, a form of Confession accompanied with an Absolution, and certain 'comfortable words' taken from Scripture, which probably found their source in the 'Consultation' of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, a prayer to be said by the priest in the name of the communicants before Reception, the forms of Administration, and a benediction of the communicants after Reception. 'These English forms supply a need which parish priests had formerly had to meet as best they could,' says H. A. Wilson, 'the need, namely, of assisting the devotions of their people before Communion.'

There is every reason to believe that Archbishop Cranmer is directly responsible for the contents of the Order of Communion. The authority of the King, which now granted the use of English only so far as it was set forth in the Order of Communion, was not sufficient to prevent individuals from translating more and more of the Latin Service. Finally at St. Paul's, in May 1548, we find the entire Service done in English.<sup>1</sup> It was in fulfilment of the Proclamation prefixed to the Order of Communion that the Archbishop of Canterbury and certain other bishops whom the King had appointed, brought forth 'The booke of common prayer and administra-

<sup>1</sup> See H. A. Wilson, *The Order of Communion*.

tion of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England'. An Act of Uniformity required the exclusive use of this first Prayer Book of Edward VI after Whitsunday (June 9), 1549.

Except for the didactic and hortatory elements the Sarum Rite was practically translated from the Latin. Quotations or references to the Great Bible make up the larger part of the Service. Some small influence from the Mozarabic and the Eastern Orthodox Rites, and some from the Breviary of Quinones and the *Encheiridion* and the *Antididagma* of Cologne, was brought to bear on the translators, but the Order of Communion of 1548 was taken over with little change. The conservative Orders of the Lutheran *Kirchenordenungen* influenced the practice rather than the doctrine of the English Book.

The English version differs from its Latin predecessor in combining in a single volume the Breviary (omitting the Psalms and Lessons), a Processional, a Missal, and a Manual. Metrical hymns, the benedictions of things other than sacraments, invocations of the Saints, and reference to their intercessions, &c., are all omitted. The English was printed almost entirely in black with no musical notation, and in every way simplified.<sup>1</sup>

When the first Prayer Book in English was being forced into use under penalty of fine, deprivation, and eventually imprisonment, many influential characters appeared on the stage. Hooper, sometimes called the Father of the Reformation, who was being urged to accept an episcopal see. Gardiner, Bishop

<sup>1</sup> 12/lxxviii to lxxxv.

of Winchester, and Edmond Bonner, Bishop of London, who opposed the government in support of the old régime. Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, Laski (John a Lasco), Pullain, and other foreign refugees, through the interest of Cranmer and his supporters, had been settled in England. And all the while the Protector, Somerset, acting for the boy king, Edward VI, was attempting to meet the responsibilities left by Henry VIII.

Without forcing the laity to use the new Service, this Act of Uniformity, as a matter of fact, offered a general standard to the clergy throughout the kingdom. It was enforced in the spirit of direction rather than aggression, and was typical of the sixteenth century. This first Act may be said to register the distance to which the Reformation had advanced in England. The opposition to it can be attributed to causes other than religious. The demands of the Devonshire people, for example, hardly make the liturgical revision a prime cause for rebellion when they ask, among other things, that the Communion should be administered only once in the year, at Easter. And the ignorance of the men of Cornwall, who could no more understand the English of the new Service than they had understood the Latin of the old, made them prefer the sound of the recitation which was more familiar.<sup>1</sup> Such a demand was satisfied in some cases by the priest's mumbling the English so thoroughly that the same comfortable effect of a Latin Service was obtained. How early the ideal of a simple congregational Service whose primitive and scriptural character

<sup>1</sup> 2/274.

should not be marred by any admitted abuse germinated, we cannot say, but the liturgical reformation seems to have been gradual.

Cranmer's personal change, which had no small influence on subsequent changes in the text, seems to have been equally as gradual. Ceasing to believe the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, he held a firm conviction in the Doctrine of the Real Presence in his celebration of the Mass under Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup> But his cautious reasoning seems to have shaken him in this latter stand, so that the compilation of the First Book—for which he was thoroughly equipped—resulted in a compromise between him and the 'catholic' bishops.<sup>2</sup> 'In certain mysteries' Cranmer had even doubted the use of English to be an advantage, and he had favoured Tunstall's suggestion that the Mass with the addition of some English prayers should continue in Latin. But he could not agree with the insistence on scriptural authority for such a custom as kneeling at Communion, nor was he firm in other traditional points. As a result, throughout his administration there is a tendency toward reform and innovation.<sup>3</sup> The Archbishop's cordial reception of continental scholars marks his enthusiasm for the New Learning.

A congregation of Germans using a Rite of their own, partly taken from Farel's *La Manier et Fasson*, were settled in London by the Crown with a pupil of Erasmus, John Laski, as their superintendent,<sup>4</sup> and Valérand Pullain, with a number of Frenchmen and Wallons, bringing with them a Calvinistic Rite, were

<sup>1</sup> 17/304.

<sup>2</sup> 17/237.

<sup>3</sup> 17/205.

<sup>4</sup> 12/cxlviii.

established at Glastonbury.<sup>1</sup> Peter Martyr, a Florentine Augustinian canon, who on suspicion of heresy had come to England in 1547, became Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. However, his brother professor at Cambridge, Martin Bucer, was perhaps the most influential of the continental scholars. His *Censura*, which summed up much of the English criticism and added certain original comments, is apt to be overestimated. In many places his suggestions were left out of consideration, or if they were observed the change was made in another form.

There was a natural desire for liturgical reform among Englishmen themselves. Hooper wrote, while he was still Somerset's chaplain, 'I am so much offended with that book (First Prayer Book of Edward VI), and that not without abundant reason, that if it be not corrected, I neither can nor will communicate with the church in the administration of the supper.'<sup>2</sup> But a year later, in spite of extreme Zwinglian views which made him an advocate of the shutting up of chancels, the destruction of altars, the similar dress of priests and laymen, and the reception of the Sacrament standing, he accepted the see of Gloucester.

The opposing attitude of the conservatives varied. Although Gardiner's imprisonment from June 1548 till Mary's accession removed him from the scene of action for the time, the defence which he made of his position, based on the Book of 1549, called forth a controversy with Cranmer that had much to do in determining the points of revision in 1552. So much did he find that it coincided with his strictly

<sup>1</sup> 12/cxlvii.

<sup>2</sup> 12/cxlvii.

conservative views that he felt with clear conscience he could observe and enforce it.<sup>1</sup> Other conservatives made use of the new Service only on compulsion. Among these was Edmond Bonner. Until he was commanded by the Council, he 'seldom or never' officiated in the cathedral, and took no steps to force his clergy to observe it, but then 'did the office at St. Paul's both at the procession and the Communion discretely and sadly'. Many of the people, either from ignorance, as we have before suggested, or from a sincere love of a Liturgy which had been associated with the most sacred moments of their lives, must have loathed to surrender it even for a more comprehensible form.

The celebrations of Mass in the college chapels at Oxford on the fall of Somerset, in October 1549, gave evidence of the hold the Sarum Rite still had over the people.<sup>2</sup> In other places, defying the discipline which the Archbishop was directed to exercise, a refusal on the part of parishioners to pay for bread and wine resulted in the complete omission of the Communion Service.<sup>3</sup> The visitation that Bishop Ridley made to discover those who spoke against the Service, or sold the Communion for money, or held Masses in private houses, illustrates the attitude of some of the people. He especially forbade any minister to 'counterfeit the popish Mass', either by 'kissing the Lord's board, washing his hands or fingers after the Gospel on receipt of the holy Communion, shifting the book from one place to another, laying down and licking the chalice after Communion, blessing his eyes with the sudary thereof,

<sup>1</sup> 12/cxlv.

<sup>2</sup> 20/274.

<sup>3</sup> 20/277.



or patten, or crossing his head with the same, holding his forefingers and thumbs joined together toward the temples of his head after the receiving of the Sacrament, breathing on the bread or chalice, saying the Agnus before the Communion, showing the Sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof, ringing the sacring bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board'. The following injunction also gives us an idea of the way in which the people held to the more familiar form : ' Item, whereas in divers places some use the Lord's board after the form of a table and some as an altar, whereby dissention is perceived to arise among the unlearned ; therefore wishing a godly unity to be preserved in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish Mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table decently covered, in such place of the choir or chancel as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers with the communicants may have their place separated from the rest of the people, and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables.' <sup>1</sup> In the hope of cleaning the Service of superstition by washing out the accumulated ceremonies nobody was spared. Even the Princess Mary, who had been allowed her Mass until the fall of Somerset, afterwards in face of the Spanish intercession and her own refusal to submit to the new form of Service, was

<sup>1</sup> 20/280.

compelled by the Council to forgo the observance of the Mass. And yet it must be remembered that up to this point the only important change was in putting the Latin into the vernacular.

The translation in the Service of 1549 had only been a temporary arrangement, and although it would be incorrect to think of the revision of 1552 as the natural and inevitable outcome of the First Book, the desire for a Book that would more satisfy the demands of the continental reformers must have been present in the mind of Cranmer and others before the ink of the first publication was dry. The controversy which finally resulted in the deprivation of Bishop Gardiner in 1550 was perhaps chief among the many reasons for the immediate revision.

At this time Warwick had succeeded Somerset as Protector for King Edward. And the expected religious change, if Mary came to the throne, rendered the reformers more uncompromising. Bishops Heath and Day had been deprived in 1551, and Tunstall, the last of the pre-reformation bishops, had been committed to the Tower. It was at this time that Cranmer, with the advice of the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Ely, took upon himself the drastic reformation of the Prayer Book. This reformation was further enforced by Parliament.

The alleged purpose of the Second Act of Uniformity, which punished recusants with ecclesiastical censures, was 'for the due coming together to common prayer', and because 'doubts had arisen through curiosity rather than any worthy cause', the new Book was passed off as an explanation of the former one. The next month after the passing

of the Act, Gardiner was deposed. Each point in his contention that the *papists* 'agree in form of teaching with that the Church of England teacheth at this day, in the distribution of the holy Communion' was cut under in the revision by sufficient change in the former text. The precautionary changes lest the contents of the Book should be interpreted as tolerating any *papish* conception of the Eucharist, for the first time in England made the deduction that the Communion Service did not necessarily imply the Real Presence of Our Lord a legitimate one.<sup>1</sup> Whereas the Liturgy of 1549 had nothing offensive to former doctrine in England, the second revision strained further toward the extreme Protestantism of Geneva than has since been thought wise to go.<sup>2</sup> Together with this purpose of expurgating the ideas of sacrifice and corporal presence, the effort was made to bring home to the people the revision that had been effected, by changing the order of prayers. Thus the canon was made to lead directly from the *Consecration* to the *Communion*, and the parts separated into the Prayer for the Church Militant, the Consecration Prayer, and the first of the two alternative prayers after the Reception. This change in order thwarted the priests who were attempting to cover the difference between the Latin and the English, for mumble as they might the new construction could not be mistaken for the old.<sup>3</sup>

Thirty-four days before the publication of the Second Book was ordered, the question of the rubric on kneeling at Communion arose. John Knox, moved by the observation, which perhaps had some

<sup>1</sup> 2/287.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 20/203.

<sup>3</sup> 17/273.

foundation at the time, that the Communion Service was being converted into idol worship, had declared against the custom of kneeling at the reception of the Sacrament, and had administered the Holy Communion to sitting congregations. To prevent the spread of this custom the Council, without authority from Parliament or Convocation, ordered, only five days before the appointed time for publication, the insertion of a declaration on kneeling. This declaration was so far respected that even Knox advised his Berwick congregation to comply and kneel.<sup>1</sup>

At the Princess Mary's accession, in 1553, her constant devotion to the Latin Mass turned into a zeal for the uniform restoration of that Service. The first question presented to Queen Mary was the form of Liturgy to be used at the burial of the late King. Edward had lived, according to the Roman Church, a heretic. For this reason, and for the fact that the law of the country required the use of the English Service, Mary was forced to be satisfied with the recitation of a Mass for the King's soul said by Gardiner in the Tower. It was Cranmer who took the body from Whitehall to Westminster, and, as the chronicle of the Grey Friars comments, 'without any cross or light and buried next day with a Communion, and that poorly'.<sup>2</sup>

There immediately followed, either from policy or from sincere conviction, a flood of recantation. The Duke of Norfolk, for example, having been successfully *deceived* for sixteen years by *false* preachers, suddenly discovered 'the Sacrament to be his

<sup>1</sup> 20/308.

<sup>2</sup> 20/318.

Saviour'.<sup>1</sup> Those who had resisted the measures of Edward VI now received their reward. Not many days passed before the deposed Gardiner was made Lord Chancellor; and following directly on this 'the Shrouds' at St. Paul's and some parish churches in London were filled with the chanting of the Latin Mass. This not by order but, as it would seem, through a sincere desire to re-establish the ancient Liturgy. Although the reversion was immediate in many places and Mass was celebrated on the following Sunday in the cathedral itself, it was not till some five months after Edward's death that the custom was prescribed by law.

The Act which made this custom law required that from December 20 'such divine service and administration of the Sacraments as were most commonly used in the last years of Henry VIII be used and frequented throughout the whole realm of England and all other the queen's majesty's dominions'. Certain small changes were made in other services, but the Mass was restored in its entirety.<sup>2</sup> A rumour, originating in the celebration of Mass in the Cathedral at Canterbury, grew from its having been done at Archbishop Cranmer's wish to the understanding that he had promised to say Mass before the Queen herself. In self-defence he prepared an apologia 'offering with the Queen's leave to prove that the Communion Book of King Edward was agreeable to the order laid down by Christ himself, and that the Mass had no apostolic or primitive authority'. His purpose to dispute this in public with the assistance of Martyr and others of his choice, together with

<sup>1</sup> 20/319.

<sup>2</sup> 12/clxv.

actions that had more political than religious significance, was the means of bringing him to the Tower.<sup>1</sup>

Mary, allowing the foreigners to depart, asked absolution from the Pope for herself and for the priests who were to administer the Communion at the Coronation. The challenge thrown out by Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer for a debate at Oxford on the subject of the Mass—although all legal opposition to it had been removed—was taken up by the Convocation of Canterbury. The popularity of the question brought forth much vulgar criticism. On the gallows in London dressed as a priest and holding an imitation wafer was suspended a dead cat.<sup>2</sup> One Sunday in April, while the priest was administering the Sacrament in St. Margaret's, Westminster, he was struck on the head with a wood knife, so that his blood dropped on the Elements before him.<sup>3</sup> It is characteristic of the times that the crime was dealt with as a heresy. On the other hand, there were many sincere incidents that indicated the real desire for the retention of the English form of Service. Such, for example, was the attempt made by a group of people to meet in the Saracen's Head, Islington, for the purpose of holding a Celebration in English. Their ruse of pretending they were coming together for a play failed to conceal their real purpose; and the Scottish minister who conducted the Service, on being found guilty of promoting 'heretical doctrine' on the Sacrament and of using the English form of Communion, was burned at Smithfield on December 22.<sup>4</sup> In many cases the Celebrations in English

<sup>1</sup> 20/321.<sup>2</sup> 20/339.<sup>3</sup> 20/355.<sup>4</sup> 20/388.

evaded episcopal authority until the death of Queen Mary.

On the accession of Elizabeth the Liturgy remained for the time as it had been with Mary, but changes were soon made to effect a compromise between the two former English Liturgies. All the diplomacy of Henry VII and the force of Henry VIII which the Queen combined was required because of the political significance of this compromise. Although she did not assume the title 'Head of the Church',<sup>1</sup> through her Archbishop of Canterbury, Parker—a moderate churchman who was eager to revive the worship and discipline of the Church—the Queen directed ecclesiastical matters.

Queen Elizabeth's attendance at the celebration of Mass and her proclamation to the effect that innovations were to be avoided carried no indication of her later policy. Without definite legal change it was possible for the Queen in her closet to receive the Sacrament in both kinds without the Elevation.<sup>2</sup> But when she determined to communicate at the Christmas Service in Westminster and requested Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlyle, to omit the Elevation of the Host, Oglethorp refused to comply. The Queen attended, but after the Gospel left the Abbey. On the following days the Royal Chaplain omitted the Elevation and the Queen heard the Service through. Oglethorp and the Bishops assisting at the Coronation Service followed their accustomed manner of conducting the Communion, but in the Mass for the opening of Parliament, which was sung at Westminster Abbey, January 1559, the precedent

<sup>1</sup> 1/403.

<sup>2</sup> 20/5.

which the Queen had set in her Chapel Royal was followed. To those who were anxiously watching any indication of change in the Liturgy this was a danger signal. Especially was such a variance looked on by such a Catholic country as Spain with apprehension. But Elizabeth, answering the protests of the Spanish Ambassador, explained that 'she believed that God was in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and only dissented from three or four things in the Mass'.<sup>1</sup>

In 1559 the Act of Supremacy revived, among other statutes repealed under Mary, the Act of Edward VI, which provided for Communion in both kinds. But together with the Bill of Uniformity of the same time it met with the opposition of the Bishops. The fierce attack was headed by Bishop Bonner of London, who, calling a meeting, drew up a petition, and introduced the points that had proved a 'stumbling' to Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley in the Oxford disputation five years before. The contention that 'great numbers not only of the nobility and gentlemen but also of the common people of this realm be persuaded in conscience that they can not receive the Sacrament otherwise', was given as a reason for this step. Accordingly, in the Queen's chapel on Easter Day the Edwardian Use was sung in English with the Administration in both kinds. But this was a single instance, and otherwise the Services continued as before.<sup>2</sup>

The Westminster Disputations, which started on March 31, 1559, between the Marians and the exiles and concluded in a fiasco, indicates the temper of the

<sup>1</sup> 20/16.

<sup>2</sup> 20/22.



times. The use of vernacular services, the power of individual churches over the order of their liturgies, and the propitiatory character of the Sacrifice of the Mass, were the chief topics. A letter from Bishop Guest, who seemed to be proposing a new Book more reformed than the second revision under Edward, typifies the extreme radical tendency. He argues against the adoption of the first Book of Edward, that 'ceremonies once taken away as evil should not be taken again'. The petition in the Prayer of Consecration, 'that the bread and wine may be Christ's body, which makes for the Popish transubstantiation', the idea of Consecration itself, the lack of instruction for receiving the Sacrament in the hands, and many other things, he declared objectionable.<sup>1</sup>

The Bill of Uniformity, which is mentioned above, was first read in the Lower House on April 18, 1559. The compromise it effected between the two former English Liturgies is evidenced by the combination of the two Sentences of Administration of the Sacrament in the version it authorized. It retained the Edwardian Ornaments, but in the Litany dropped the Petition against the Pope 'and all his detestable enormities', and in the Communion the Black Rubric.<sup>2</sup> The penalty of deprivation for the clergymen and suitable punishments for recusants secured for a time the use of the new Book.<sup>3</sup> Scott, in complaining that the new 'book of religion' did away with 'additions of the holy fathers for the adorning' of the Liturgy, and also with the 'ordinance of the apostles as to the form of the Sacra-

<sup>1</sup> 20/27.

<sup>2</sup> 12/clxix.

<sup>3</sup> 2/304.

ments, i.e. crossing, exorcism, &c.'; that the omission of the Oblation and Consecration seemed to abolish the Institution itself, and that the lack of manual acts and adequate words made the whole Service an empty unreality—in this he summed up the retort that the Bill drew from the Marian objectors.<sup>1</sup> The alterations which the new Book presented were to appease both sides, and were finally accepted.

These conciliatory changes, however, which were never submitted to Convocation, did not pass without opposition.<sup>2</sup> Before Bishop Bonner's insistence on the old Rite could be interfered with, it was necessary to place Alexander Nowell in the position of Dean of St. Paul's. While in the diocese of Winchester they ceased to celebrate the old Mass, they refused to continue with the English substitutions. And in several places in the north the change met with disturbances. But the English Communion, which had been first used in the Royal Chapel, had been taken up after Whitsunday by most of the parish churches of London, and three weeks before the day appointed for its use it had been adopted by all the churches except the Cathedral. And before the end of the winter London's example had been followed in most of the churches of England.<sup>3</sup>

With the abolition of the 'Mass' went most of the ceremonies and furnishings that were used to illustrate the Latin text. Provisions for the substitution of tables for altars, the change in the style of Communion bread, &c., which were followed by those who carried out the royal visitation in 1559, were

<sup>1</sup> 20/30.<sup>2</sup> 2/305.<sup>3</sup> 20/33.

officially published in The Injunctions.<sup>1</sup> Things were going well for the Reformers. So satisfied with the destruction of images that was going on were they that they felt the revival of eucharistic vestments could be tolerated, if the wearers would 'persist in speaking and teaching against them'.<sup>2</sup> To these Injunctions the Bishops appended, by way of further reformation, in 1560, certain interpretations and further considerations for their own use. The use of the cope, for example, at the Communion Service in cathedral and collegiate churches only, and the position of the Table in the 'body of the church before the chancel door', were by way of compromise with the Genevans.<sup>3</sup>

The exceptions to the general conformity were either those who carefully persisted in the old Service or those who misunderstood it as a licence for laxity. On the one hand it was necessary to inform the minister in Norwich that he was not allowed to have 'the Lord's Table hanged and decked like an altar, nor to use the ceremonial of the Latin Mass at the time of the communion, as shifting the book, washing, breathing, crossing, or such like'.<sup>4</sup> Also Magdalen was found to be the only college in Oxford where either the scholars or the fellows would conform to any Service but the Mass; and in some parts of the north the Mass was continued without an attempt to excuse the practice. On the other hand there was sufficient neglect to make it necessary for the Queen to call attention to the 'unseemly tables with foul clothes for the communion of the Sacraments'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 12/clxxi.

<sup>2</sup> 20/56.

<sup>3</sup> 12/clxxi.

<sup>4</sup> 20/62.

<sup>5</sup> 20/67.

However much the English text might be forced down the throats of Churchmen in England it could never be made attractive enough for foreign authorities to swallow. A Latin edition of the English Book, printed in 1560 with the intention of conveying a more favourable impression of the English Rite than was warranted, began to circulate. Rumour had it that if the Queen would acknowledge the Book to have come from the Pope, His Holiness would in turn confirm its contents. But if there had been any such hope it was soon cleared away by the edict from Rome to the effect that attendance on the English Service was unlawful. Such an edict was not needed to make many dissatisfied with the Service.

Pronounced extremes of Church Usages were being agitated. There was activity in both camps. It was only by a close margin in 1563 that the motion against kneeling at Communion was defeated in the Lower House of Convocation ;<sup>1</sup> and the agitation against the wafer-bread, the position of the Holy Table, and other traditional customs, left little rest for the Church. Yet the publication of two editions of a book containing settings for choral Communions, the use of copes at the Eucharist, and other like observances showed an effort to preserve the traditions. The increased use of vestments became the source of discontent to the protestants, whose complaint was voiced in 1563 by the President of Magdalen's question, Can the priest's cap and popish surplice, after being so intimately connected with superstition, now be reckoned things indifferent ?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 20/98.

<sup>2</sup> 20/112.

When viewed as a whole the churches in England seemed to be in a hopeless jumble.

At this time (January 1564-5) the Queen stepped in to insist on a greater uniformity. The following result of an investigation was sent to the Bishops : ' The Service is said sometimes in the chancel, sometimes in the nave ; sometimes eastward, sometimes westward ; sometimes at the lectern, sometimes in the pulpit ; sometimes with a surplice, sometimes without. There is great variety as to the position of the Table ; at communion the cope is not uniformly worn as well as the surplice, and sometimes neither is used. Similar variety is shown in the use of the chalice or communion cup, or common cup ; of unleavened or leavened bread ; as to kneeling, standing, or sitting to receive.' <sup>1</sup> This investigation coming to the Bishops as a challenge gave Archbishop Parker the opportunity of further carrying out his desire to provide for the Elizabethan Church a basis in the past.

As a result, in the effort for greater uniformity, a book of Advertisements, issued by Parker with the Queen's approval but on his own authority, went further in the compromise that the Interpretations, which we have noted as appended to the Injunctions, had started. The use of Eucharistic vestments and the cope in parish churches were laid on one side, while the surplice in all parish ministrations and the cope in Communion Services of cathedral and collegiate churches was enforced with penalties. Also the Holy Table was required to be decently covered, and the Sacrament was to be received

<sup>1</sup> 20/115.

kneeling.<sup>1</sup> Parker went so far as to declare that disobedience would be punished with deprivation. The result was in many cases unfortunate. In London thirty-seven clergymen resorted to ministering the Sacrament independently in their own houses. The lack of surplices and wafer-bread in some places made the Communion impossible. In one Service the cup and wafer-bread were surreptitiously taken from the Table, so that it was impossible to carry on the Service.<sup>2</sup>

Without exaggerating too much the confusion that was created, one might almost say that the increasing pressure for uniformity was met with equal opposition. Among the people who fled from England because of the law fining recusants and imprisoning those who said or heard the Latin Mass, it is related of a printer named Caley, who 'being accused to have been the beadle and gatherer together of a number to sundry places to hear Mass, was sent for to the commissioners, and thereupon is fled and gone'. Much of the opposition was encouraged by the statement made by Pope Pius V, 'that all such as be present at the Communion now used do not walk in the way of salvation.'<sup>3</sup> The oath of certain men in Lancashire that they would 'not come to the Communion nor receive the Sacrament during the queen's majesty's reign' sounds more political than religious; but it may be that the excommunication of Elizabeth which followed in 1571, after the rebellion in the north, encouraged the custom of 'Massing'<sup>4</sup> Now and again the hand of a wise sovereign who knew to restrain as well as to

<sup>1</sup> 2/327.

<sup>2</sup> 20/120.

<sup>3</sup> 20/140.

<sup>4</sup> 20/155.

drive can be felt on the reins. The absurdity of compelling law-breakers to come to the Communion prevented the royal assent from being given to any law which should force people to communicate for the sake of being able to make political distinctions for government purposes. The inevitable confusion, however, between Romanists and those who conformed to the Anglican establishment, in so far as people bothered about it, was the cause of unrest. But the folly of making religion a handmaid to secular politics was clearly recognized by Elizabeth. In 1572, probably as a guard against such folly, the Queen sent the message to Parliament that from henceforth 'no bills concerning religion . . . be preferred . . . in this house, unless the same be first considered or liked by the clergy'.

If the secular government was restrained, the ecclesiastical authorities often rendered the Service so void of religion that the effect must have been the same. The attitude toward the Lord's Supper in the period before the establishment of the Commonwealth can be judged from the accounts of the time. The working of a moderate parish of the period is illustrated by a description in 'The Orders and Dealings in the Church of Northampton', which was drawn up in June 1571. A fortnight before each of the four Communion services held during the year the minister and wardens made a house-to-house canvass to secure the names of those intending to communicate, and took the opportunity of inquiring into their lives. The first Communion, together with an hour's sermon, lasted from five to eight, and this was repeated from nine to twelve. During the actual

Communion three ministers stood at the Table in the body of the church, and while the people walked past without kneeling, the minister in the centre administered the Sacrament of the bread and the other two the cup. Covering the action of the administration the Scriptures were read from the pulpit and the whole Service concluded in the singing of a psalm. A tribunal to try the recusants every Thursday morning after the lecture was made up of the minister with the mayor and gentry of the place.<sup>1</sup> In many places such rigorous oversight was either lacking or of no avail. There was danger of slackness on the part of the ministers. The defence made by Robert Johnson in the same year for using unconsecrated wine after the Consecrated Element had been consumed was the lack of a rubric for the second Consecration. This led to his depreciation of the Consecration and his final conviction by jury to a year's imprisonment. A clearer guide in what the Church agreed to stand for was needed. The Thirty-nine Articles which the Queen and Convocation had agreed upon in 1562 and Parliament had finally ratified in 1571, together with a book of homilies, indicated the doctrine which the bishops desired the clergy to follow.<sup>2</sup> Had it been the clearness of official statement alone that was needed for the universal acceptance of the Communion Service and its interpretation the matter would now have been settled.

The serious point at issue, as expressed in Parker's last apologia, May 1575, was that he had attempted by the enforcement of vestments and wafer-bread to bring people under an obedience to authority.<sup>3</sup> Lest

<sup>1</sup> 20/169.

<sup>2</sup> 2/308.

<sup>3</sup> 20/188



their own freedom be impaired many people refused obedience to such authority. By hiring other persons to read the obligatory prayers and by coming into the church only for the sermon, the *puritans* avoided authority; and in 1579, by refusing to tolerate preachers who would not celebrate the Communion, the Council had tried to enforce obedience. The weight of the law fell on the individual cases that could be proven. Peter Wentworth, for instance, the *puritan* who permitted people 'to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper after another sort' in his own house, was reprimanded.<sup>1</sup> And in 1577 the saying of 'certain public and open prayers called a private mass', and ministering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper after a papistical manner, caused the execution of Cuthbert Mayne.<sup>2</sup> These individual evidences of revolt began to shape themselves into a more general defiance of the existing authorities and a support of a new order.

The divisions were becoming more clearly marked. The first teacher of ecclesiastical independency, Robert Browne, came into prominence. On all sides the feeling was expressed in sermons and publications. The Book of Discipline published by Travers in 1584 was attacked by Hooker for its disparagement of kneeling at the Communion, and was silenced by Archbishop Whitgift. Able as the authorities were who tried to hold to the Middle Way, the assertion of their authority only called forth greater opposition. The open rejection of all required ceremony as *breathing of popery* led to the proposal in Parliament to replace the Prayer Book with Knox's Genevan Form

<sup>1</sup> 20/198.

<sup>2</sup> 20/211.

of Common Prayers. And the expression of official indignation in the imprisonment of those responsible for the proposed bill, could not conceal the fact which was now becoming evident, that the case at issue was episcopacy *versus* presbyterianism. In curious inconsistency with this defiance of the Prayer Book, which naturally drove the Communion Service more and more into the background until it tended to be merely administered to satisfy the law, there were some signs of a return to the custom of more frequent and devout Communion.<sup>1</sup> But the ultra-conservative obstructions were few, and *the powers that were* could not in their weak middle position stem the tide, so the new flood was bound to rush on till it congealed and broke off in separate entities which were later to be known as Churches.

The fear that 'the new force which had overthrown episcopacy in Scotland was a force which might overthrow the monarchy itself' influenced the policy of 'the wisest fool in Christendom', who succeeded Elizabeth in March 1603. King James saw that where secular and ecclesiastical politics were so closely associated by tradition, the tendency to recognize spiritual authority only through the Bible or directly from God would have a dangerously undermining effect on the existing secular authority. The *puritans'* 'devotion to an authority higher than that of kings', however, cannot be thought fanatical or rebellious in a secular sense. And it was only later in their struggle that the political situation made it necessary for them to adopt the Presbyterian system.<sup>2</sup> The force of the direct inspiration of the words of

<sup>1</sup> 20/285.

<sup>2</sup> 1/479.

Holy Scripture gripped the people of England more than it had done since the Bible's translation. Although England is said to have become 'a people of a book', that book was not the Book of Common Prayer, but the Bible. The Liturgy was not left without its adherents. In spite of the large number of recusants and people who surreptitiously avoided the law, such as a certain Matthew Haigh, who slipped the bread into his book and held the wine in his mouth, there were at this time about two and a quarter million communicants.<sup>1</sup>

The protesting elements became more agreed as to their grievances. And finally the King was forced to face a great petition. The Millenary, as it was called, of 800 *puritans* whose demands for the abolition of Confirmation, the disuse of the terms *absolution* and *priest* in the Prayer Book, &c., &c., were thus declared with some moderation, was presented to King James in 1603. After calling the leading divines of both views together and hearing their contentions, he seems to have been convinced of the fact that 'A Scottish presbytery agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the Devil'.<sup>2</sup> And thus at this point the choice which seemed inevitable between one system and the other was made by the Conference at Hampton Court in favour of the Establishment. Touching on the Communion Service the Conference concluded with a censure upon those who communicated 'sitting or ambling past the rails'.

Following the Conference, further steps were taken to preserve the dignified celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Framed by Convocation and authorized

<sup>1</sup> 20/287.

<sup>2</sup> 2/343.

by the King, the Canons of 1604 requiring the subscription of the clergy, protected the Communion from the accusation of superstition.<sup>1</sup> They sanctioned the requirements for kneeling at Communion and for wearing the cope and surplice. But complaints such as those which now came from the Diocese of Lincoln to the King expressed the attitude of many. 'It is like the mass-book, it is too lengthy, and curtails sermons ; it contains nineteen popish errors ; it encourages profanation of the Sacraments ; it contains three points that are doubtful ; seven that are untrue ; five that are ridiculous ; besides many evident contradictions.'<sup>2</sup> In matter of fact there was more to complain of in the general attitude toward the Communion than in the text, for religion was at a low ebb. Some relief might have been afforded if the attempt in the Upper House to forgo compulsory attendance at Communion had not been blocked by the puritanical attack it received in the Commons. 'Religion lay a-bleeding,' Prince Henry was quoted as saying, 'and no marvel when divers of the privy council hear Mass in the morning, court sermon in the afternoon, tell their wives what is done at the Council so that they tell their Jesuites and confessors.'<sup>3</sup> The depth to which the estimation of the Communion had sunk in 1614 is evidenced by the Test which Parliament set for itself. To exclude Papists it was decided to hold a corporate Communion first in the Abbey, and then—from what seems to have been a fear of 'wafer-cakes and such other important reasons'—in St. Margaret's Church.<sup>4</sup>

In all these contentions that drew men to and

<sup>1</sup> 2/344.

<sup>2</sup> 20/316.

<sup>3</sup> 20/373.

<sup>4</sup> 20/376.

away from the accumulated traditions of the Church, there was never a time when one side or the other was extinct. Just when the dominance of the one seemed about complete the other would begin to rise. About the year 1622 we find signs of restlessness under the Puritan tyranny. People who had enjoyed the throwing off of traditions with the feeling of freedom now began to chafe under their new yoke. In the parish of Elsfield, to take not too extreme a case, the vicar celebrated not on Whitsunday but a fortnight later, and then without surplice. He seems to have hidden the surplice and urged the people to insist on sitting for Communion. All this against the protests of the parishioners.<sup>1</sup> Where such protests were heard a freer and more catholic theology and a greater dignity and order in public services were the results. And chief among the instigators of the movement was Lancelot Andrewes, who was successively Bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester. To him was attributed 'profound learning and a graciousness of manner not common in one so highly placed'. It is interesting to note that this was the time of much Eastern influence, for the old English and other Western ceremonies had accumulated so many unpopular traditions that they were misunderstood. From this cause, perhaps, we have the turning to the east for the recitation of the Creed at Communion; the use of the credence table; and the addition of the chalice-veil, termed after the Eastern manner, the 'air'. From the list of altar furniture, which included copes, lights, incense, the mixed chalice, and wafer-

<sup>1</sup> 20/382.

bread, we can imagine the restorations in the Bishop's Services. He revived the custom of the washing of the priest's hands before the preparation of the Elements, and the solemn customs of offering at the Offertory.<sup>1</sup> The interest which sprang up with these revivals and the devotional literature which accompanied the movement made for more frequent Communion.

The continuation of this Eastern influence can still be seen in the next reign from the remark made by John Eliot, who later died a martyr in the Tower. 'There is a ceremony used in the Eastern churches, of standing at the repetition of the creed', he said, 'to testify their purpose to maintain it, not only with their bodies upright, but with their swords drawn. Give me leave to call that a custom very commendable.' Laud, who succeeded to the See of Canterbury in 1633, saw the common relation of the Orthodox Church of the East and the Church of England to the Roman Church. 'Laud was the man', wrote Mr. Gladstone, 'who prevented the English Church from being bound in the fetters of an iron system of compulsory and Calvinistic belief.'<sup>2</sup> His use of liturgical forms to this end can be judged from his plea: 'And a great weakness it is not to see the strength which ceremonies—things weak in themselves, God knows—add even to religion itself.'<sup>3</sup>

The changing temper of the public demanded numerous conferences, and brought forth numbers of published resolutions. In 1641 there was published 'A Copie of the Proceedings' of the committee of

<sup>1</sup> 2/354.

<sup>2</sup> 2/364.

<sup>3</sup> 2/358.

lay peers and bishops appointed by the Lords to consider the innovations concerning religion, which also contained 'considerations upon the Common Prayer Book'.<sup>1</sup> When the public went so far as to change the type of its government, it made equally as drastic a change in its prescribed order of worship. Early in January a Directory which had been entrusted to an assembly of divines called together at Westminster was established by the Long Parliament in place of the Prayer Book.<sup>2</sup> This Directory, authorized in 1644, for the Public Worship of God, Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which was enforced with penal laws, had reformed characteristics related to the Scottish Book of Common Order. Although it enjoined an order of service and administration of the Sacraments, the idea was rather to suggest topics of prayer than to prescribe any fixed formulae. This left room for individual ideas.

The traditional Liturgy in some camouflaged form was still employed by individuals. Robert Sanderson, later Bishop of Lincoln, seemed to satisfy the terms of the Ordinances in 1652 by still using the contents of the Book of Common Prayer, but with such changes 'that it might appear not to be, and yet be the same'. Jeremy Taylor's Collection of Offices or Forms of Prayer in cases Ordinary and Extraordinary, showing the Greek influence we have noted before, except for the general outline, however, had little in common with the Prayer Book. At the same time it tended to preserve the great tradition that is common to the Liturgies of Rome and England

<sup>1</sup> 12/clxxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> 1/561, 12/clxxxix.

as well as of the East. For example, his Office of Holy Communion is based on the Liturgy of St. James, with certain borrowings from the Mozarabic and Ethiopic (Abyssinian) offices. Bishop Cosin of Durham also made certain additions to a paper written in the reign of Charles I on 'Particulars to be considered and explained and corrected in the Book of Common Prayer'. And just before the next revision of the Prayer Book, Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, feeling that the time was ripe for amendment and that criticisms from all sources would be of value, suggested verbal alterations, additional clauses, and new formulæ relating chiefly to the text.<sup>1</sup>

In many places, on the other hand, the discouragement of the Communion in any form which seemed part of the Commonwealth's policy was successful in abolishing it completely. From a sermon preached by a fellow of Magdalen College before the University in 1679 we learn: 'Those intruders, who called themselves the University of Oxon. from the bloody and fatal year of 1648, to the King's happy restoration, did not think fit so much as once to celebrate the Communion together in this Church (St. Mary's), and a publick Sacrament was not seen in several College Chapels during the same space of time.'<sup>2</sup> The dissatisfaction caused by this suppression bred the greater appreciation of the Prayer Book when the restrictions were removed under the Monarchy.

The Monarchy restored under Charles II was doing what it could to make people think that they had

<sup>1</sup> 12/cxc.

<sup>2</sup> 32/21.



made a mistake in the Commonwealth and that the former situation with slight modifications was preferable. The declaration of a 'liberty to tender consciences', in April 1660, led to an appointment in October of 'an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions, to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary'. When in the following March twelve bishops and twelve Puritan divines were summoned to meet at the Savoy, it was with the idea of 'comparing the same with the most ancient liturgies', and 'to take into . . . serious and grave considerations the several directions and rules, forms of prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained, and advise and consult upon and about the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same. And if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections and amendments therein as by and between you . . . shall be agreed upon to be needful or expedient . . . but avoiding, as much as may be, all unnecessary alterations'.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the frequency of Communion was renewed in many places immediately after the Restoration, and in some cases ceremonies were revived.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Pepys, in an amusing memorandum of July 29, 1660, writes: 'To White Hall Chappell, where I heard a cold sermon of the Bishop of Salisbury's, Duppa's, and the ceremonies did not please me, they do so overdo them.'<sup>3</sup>

On April 15, 1661, the Conference assembled at

<sup>1</sup> 2/374.

<sup>2</sup> 32/22.

<sup>3</sup> 32/42.

the Savoy, and on May 4 the exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer were brought out. A few days later, Baxter, the vigorous and scholarly representative of the Puritan side, urged a Liturgy of his own as an alternative for the Prayer Book. This Savoy Liturgy, as it came to be called, although new and independent, was marked both by English and Genevan features. The Puritan protests also included a disparagement of the practice of kneeling at the reception of the Communion, and all outward expression of the doctrine of the Real Presence. The Rejoinder from the Bishops, and a few days' useless debate which brought out the respective positions of the two parties, failed to show any hope of conciliation.<sup>1</sup>

The matter of the liturgical text was then taken firmly in hand, and a final and official version of the Communion Service in English was issued. On November 21 the Bishops of York sat in Convocation with the Upper House of Canterbury and heard the royal letters authorizing a revision of the Book of Common Prayer. The work of the Bishops during the preceding vacation appears in a corrected copy of a Prayer Book, known as the Durham Book. Here most of the changes suggested in Bishop Wren's paper of 1660, a good part of those from Bishop Cosin's *Particulars*, fourteen out of the seventeen agreed upon at the Savoy Conference, together with eight more than had been accepted—the most important amendments of the Scottish Book of 1637 were included—are corrected in the handwriting of Cosin and of his secretary, Sancroft. The book in

<sup>1</sup> 2/374-5.

which Sancroft during the whole process of revision marked down the final results as they were agreed upon, is known as ' Convocation Book '. This marks the final revision of the Communion Service in England. The standard was set down in what is known as the ' Sealed Books '

*Administration of the Lord's Supper*  
Supper of the Lord

or  
and

the HOLY COMMUNION  
commonly called the mass

SO MANY AS INTEND TO BE PARTAKERS OF THE  
HOLY COMMUNION, SHALL SIGNIFY THEIR NAMES TO

*at least sometime the day before*

THE CURATE over night, ^ or else in the morning, afore  
the beginning of Matins, or immediately after.

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*The Title.*—The terms, *Supper of the Lord* and *Mass* date from the fourth century and in the Middle Ages indicated the entire Service. *Mass* was everywhere the common term, while in Germany *Supper of the Lord* was perhaps first used, in connexion with the Maundy Thursday anniversary. Distinct from these general terms *Holy Communion* meant no more than what it stated, the actual administration and reception of the Elements. The multiplication of *Low Mass*, when the people received the Sacraments, as distinguished from that Celebration when only the priest received, called *High Mass*, was urged by the reformers. Their purpose in making *Low Mass* more and more common was eventually to require an Administration at every Celebration. The failure to effect this among other things made the term *Mass* unacceptable. And in 1552 it was dropped from the title-page of the Service, while the other inclusive title, *The Supper of the Lord*, by changing AND to OR was made to imply the Administration by thus being set forth as the same thing as the *Holy Communion*.

*First Rubric, and Second.*—In the Savoy Conference (p. 33) the Bishops made the concession that AT LEAST SOMETIME THE DAY

AND IF ANY OF THOSE BE AN OPEN AND NOTORIOUS  
*or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed*  
 EVIL LIVER, ^ SO THAT THE CONGREGATION BY HIM  
 IS OFFENDED, or have done any wrong to his neighbours  
 , *having knowledge thereof,*  
 by word or deed : THE CURATE ^ SHALL CALL HIM,  
*that*  
 AND ADVERTISE HIM, ^ IN ANY WISE not to presume  
*he presume not to come*  
 ^ TO THE LORD'S TABLE, UNTIL HE HAVE OPENLY  
 DECLARED HIMSELF TO HAVE TRULY REPENTED,  
 AND AMENDED HIS FORMER NAUGHTY LIFE : THAT  
 THE CONGREGATION MAY THEREBY BE SATISFIED,  
 WHICH AFORE WERE OFFENDED : AND THAT HE  
 HAVE RECOMPENED THE PARTIES, ^ *to* WHOM HE  
 HATH DONE WRONG unto, OR AT the LEAST ^ *declare himself to* BE  
 IN FULL PURPOSE SO TO DO, AS SOON AS HE CON-  
 VENIENTLY MAY.

THE SAME ORDER SHALL THE CURATE USE, WITH  
 THOSE BETWIXT WHOM HE PERCEIVETH MALICE  
 AND HATRED TO REIGN, NOT SUFFERING THEM TO  
 BE PARTAKERS OF THE LORD'S TABLE, UNTIL HE  
 KNOW THEM TO BE RECONCILED. AND IF ONE OF THE  
 PARTIES SO AT VARIANCE BE CONTENT TO FORGIVE

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BEFORE would be a definite enough notice requirement for those  
 intending to receive Communion, and referred the restrictions  
 regarding the characters of the communicants to the 26th and  
 27th Canons. The curate's responsibility was limited in 1552  
 by ordering the penitent to DECLARE HIMSELF.

*Third Rubric.*—The 26th Injunction of Edward VI in 1547  
 added to the regulations of the Latin Mass : ' For as much as  
 variance and contention is a thing which most displeaseth God,  
 and is most contrary to the blessed communion of the body and

FROM THE BOTTOM OF HIS HEART ALL THAT THE OTHER HATH TRESPASSED AGAINST HIM, AND TO MAKE AMENDS FOR THAT HE HIMSELF HATH OFFENDED : AND THE OTHER PARTY WILL NOT BE PERSUADED TO A GODLY UNITY, BUT REMAIN STILL IN HIS FROWARDNESS AND MALICE : THE MINISTER IN THAT CASE OUGHT TO ADMIT THE PENITENT PERSON TO THE HOLY COMMUNION, AND NOT HIM THAT IS OBSTINATE.

*Provided that every minister so repelling any, as is specified in this, or the next precedent Paragraph of this Rubrick, shall be obliged to give an account of the same to the Ordinary within fourteen days after at the farthest. And the Ordinary shall proceed against the offending person according to the Canon.*

Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say : a white Albe plain, with a vestment or Cope. And where there be many Priests or Deacons, there so many shall be ready to help the Priest, in

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blood of our Saviour Christ ; curates shall in no wise admit to the receiving thereof any of their cure and flock, who hath maliciously and openly contended with his neighbour, unless the same do charitably and openly reconcile himself again, remitting all rancour and malice, whatsoever controversy hath been between them.' (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 7.)

*Rubric Inserted.*—The paragraph, PROVIDED THAT EVERY MINISTER SO REPELLING ANY, which appears in the 1661 revision, is a check on the minister provided for in the Constitutions and Canons ecclesiastical, 1603, can. 26, 27, 109, 113, 115.

*Rubric on Vestments.*—The definition of proper vestments was omitted after the first version of the Prayer Book. The *Censura* (p. 7), while allowing certain vestments and gestures, discouraged any sort of pageantry, and the abolition of all vestments, except the surplice and rochet, in 1552, is probably due to its influence.

the ministrations, as shall be requisite : And shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, Albes and tunicles. Then shall the Clerks sing in English for the office, or Introit (as they call it), a Psalm appointed for that day.

*The Table at the Communion-time having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the Body of the Church, or in the Chancel, where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said. And*

*at the north side of the Table*

^ THE PRIEST STANDING ^ humbly afore

the midst of the Altar, SHALL SAY THE LORD'S PRAYER,

*the following, the people kneeling.*

WITH this COLLECT ^ .

*Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation ; But deliver us from evil. Amen.*

The beginning of a compromise in regard to this rubric, which the Bishops made directly after the Injunctions (p. 19) of 1559 were issued, required the use of the cope at ' the ministrations of the Lord's Supper, and the surplice at other ministrations '. This compromise was carried farther by Parker's Advertisements (p. 21), which, excepting the use of the cope for the three ministers at the altar in collegiate and cathedral churches only, allowed the use of the surplice elsewhere.

*Rubric on the Altar, &c.*—In keeping with the doctrinal reformation the altar was designated ' table ' in 1552, and to take away any superstition about its position in the church it was to be placed wherever it might be convenient. When the table was brought into the passage-way of the chancel or nave it was convenient, for passing by it, to have it turned lengthwise. Thus the celebrant standing afore the midst of the altar could after the change in the position of the table be AT THE NORTH.

*Lord's Prayer.*—Among the prayers said by the priest while vesting before the Service in the Sarum Use were the Lord's Prayer and the Collect here following. Although the Lord's

*The Collect*

ALMIGHTY GOD, UNTO WHOM ALL HEARTS BE OPEN, ALL DESIRES KNOWN, AND FROM WHOM NO SECRETS ARE HID: CLEANSE THE THOUGHTS OF OUR HEARTS, BY THE INSPIRATION OF THY HOLY SPIRIT: THAT WE MAY PERFECTLY LOVE THEE, AND WORTHILY MAGNIFY THY HOLY NAME: THROUGH CHRIST OUR LORD. AMEN.

Then shall he say a Psalm appointed for the Introit: which Psalm ended, the Priest shall say, or else the Clerks shall sing,

iii. Lord have mercy upon us.

iii. Christ have mercy upon us.

iii. Lord have mercy upon us.

*Then shall the Priest, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments; and the people still kneeling shall, after every Commandment, ask God mercy for their transgression thereof for the time past, and grace to keep the same for the time to come, as followeth.*

*Minister.*

*God spake these words, and said; I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods but me.*

Prayer was not printed in 1549 it was probably said by the priest in the same way as the Collect.

*The Collect.*—The oratio of the Latin Rite, DEUS QUI OMNE . . . PER DOMINUM, was translated in 1549 for the Collect.

*Omission of the Introit.*—The Introit Psalm carried over from the Latin was dropped in 1552. Perhaps the Lord's Prayer and Collect were looked upon as a substitute for the Introit.

*The Ten Commandments.*—The three KYRIE ELEISONS which appear in the 1549 translation were elaborated in the responses of the Ten Commandments in 1552. The precedent for this arrangement of the *Kyrie* was to be found in Coverdale's English rendering of Luther, who in his 'Dys synd die heylgen zehn gebot' had made similar use of the *Kyrie*. The fact that Valérand Pullain's *Liturgia Sacra* and J. Laski's *Forma ac ratio* (p. 6) make



*People.*

*Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*Minister.*

*Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his.*

*People.*

*Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.*

**[*Gloria in Excelsis* is placed at the end after the Thanksgiving and before the Blessing.]**

*Then shall be said or sung,*

Then the Priest standing at God's Board shall begin,  
**GLORY BE TO GOD ON HIGH.**

The Clerks. **AND IN EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN.**

use of the Decalogue, suggest the influence which caused the 1552 reformers to place it in the Service, but such commonplace subject-matter may likely have been drawn from many sources. In many of the German Kirchenordnungen between 1525 and 1542 the Decalogue was recited after the sermon. In England, since the thirteenth century, it had been commonly taught. In all cases the common source was in the devotions collected about the sermon, which had always been in the vernacular.

The Bishops at the Savoy Conference (p. 33) were willing that the entire preface, 'I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage' (Exod. xx), should be prefixed to the commandments, but the abbreviated form which appears in 1552 is again used in 1661.

*Response to the Tenth Commandment.*—The figure used in the last response may have a number of sources. Used by Pullain and Laski (p. 6), and appearing in 1550 as an addition in an English translation of the Latin of the *Veni Creator*, it is also found in Heb. viii. 10, Jer. xxxi. 33, and Prov. iii. 3 and vii. 3.

*The Gloria in Excelsis.*—The hymn recorded as sung at the close of the New Testament account of the Last Supper probably

WE PRAISE THEE, WE BLESS THEE, WE WORSHIP THEE, WE GLORIFY THEE, WE GIVE THANKS TO THEE FOR THY GREAT GLORY, O LORD GOD, HEAVENLY KING, GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY. O LORD THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON JESU CHRIST, O LORD GOD, LAMB OF GOD, SON OF THE FATHER, THAT TAKEST AWAY THE SINS OF THE WORLD, HAVE MERCY UPON *Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.*  
 US :    ^    THOU THAT TAKEST AWAY THE SINS OF THE WORLD, RECEIVE OUR PRAYER. THOU THAT SITTEST AT THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE FATHER, HAVE MERCY UPON US : FOR THOU ONLY ART HOLY, THOU ONLY ART THE LORD. THOU ONLY, O CHRIST, WITH THE HOLY GHOST, ART MOST HIGH IN THE GLORY OF GOD THE FATHER. AMEN.

Then the priest shall turn him to the people and say,  
 The Lord be with you.

The Answer. And with thy spirit.

The Priest. Let us pray.

THEN SHALL FOLLOW the Collect of the day, with

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prompted the 1552 compilers to place the Gloria in Excelsis at the end of the Liturgy. Except for the repetition of the sentence, THOU THAT TAKEST AWAY THE SINS OF THE WORLD, HAVE MERCY UPON US, which appears in 1552, the Latin text is translated word for word. Some Greek text analogous to the Codex Alexandrinus, which contains an additional *ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς* (Swete, *The Psalms in Greek*, p. 811), may have been current in the sixteenth century, but there seems no satisfactory explanation of this repeating clause.

*Let us pray, &c.*—The 1549 text follows the Latin in THE LORD BE WITH YOU. LET US PRAY. If it was ever a custom to say it later, it does not appear in later texts (see Scottish text, p. 124).

*Change in Collects for the Day and for the King, their order.*—In 1661 the Collect for the Day was ordered to follow the Collect for the King. The suggestion of this order which appeared in the Scottish Book of 1637 was made by Wren and Cosin, and is found

ONE OF THESE TWO COLLECTS following, FOR THE  
 , *the* *standing as before, and saying.*  
 KING.    ^   PRIEST.    ^

LET US PRAY.<sup>1</sup>

ALMIGHTY GOD, WHOSE KINGDOM IS EVERLASTING, AND POWER INFINITE, HAVE MERCY UPON THE

*Church*

WHOLE congregation, AND SO RULE THE HEART OF

*George*

THY CHOSEN SERVANT Edward the Sixth, OUR KING AND GOVERNOR, THAT HE (KNOWING WHOSE MINISTER HE IS) MAY ABOVE ALL THINGS SEEK THY

*and all*

HONOUR AND GLORY, AND THAT WE ^ HIS SUBJECTS (DULY CONSIDERING WHOSE AUTHORITY HE HATH) MAY FAITHFULLY SERVE, HONOUR, AND HUMBLY OBEY HIM, IN THEE, AND FOR THEE, ACCORDING TO THY BLESSED WORD AND ORDINANCE : THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD, WHO WITH THEE AND THE HOLY GHOST LIVETH AND REIGNETH, EVER ONE GOD, WORLD WITHOUT END. AMEN.

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in the Durham Book and the Fair Copy. The practical advantage in the change was to obviate turning back the pages between the Collect and Epistle.

*Manner of saying Collects.*—The direction in 1552 for the Collect to be said by THE PRIEST STANDING, and the further direction in 1661, AS BEFORE, i. e. in the same position as when he had been repeating the Ten Commandments, made for definiteness.

*Contents of Collects for the King.*—The substitution of 'church' for 'congregation' came from the 1637 Scottish Book. As for the authority for the text of the Collects for the King, the main idea of the first is drawn directly from the New Testament. St. Paul in exhorting the Romans to yield to their ruler says, 'For he is a minister of God to thee for good' (Rom. xiii. 4). The

<sup>1</sup> In some copies *Priest* and *Let us pray* are omitted.

Or,

ALMIGHTY AND EVERLASTING GOD, WE <sup>are</sup> TAUGHT BY THY HOLY WORD, THAT THE HEARTS OF KINGS ARE IN THY RULE AND GOVERNANCE, AND THAT THOU DOST DISPOSE AND TURN THEM AS IT SEEMETH BEST TO THY GODLY WISDOM : WE HUMBLY BESEECH THEE SO TO DISPOSE AND GOVERN THE HEART OF

*George*

Edward the Sixth, THY SERVANT, OUR KING AND GOVERNOR, THAT IN ALL HIS THOUGHTS, WORDS, AND WORKS, HE MAY EVER SEEK THY HONOUR AND GLORY, AND STUDY TO PRESERVE THY PEOPLE COMMITTED TO HIS CHARGE, IN WEALTH, PEACE, AND GODLINESS : GRANT THIS, O MERCIFUL FATHER, FOR THY DEAR SON'S SAKE, JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD. AMEN.

*Then shall be said the Collect of the Day.*

*And immediately after the Collect*

The Collects ended, ^ THE PRIEST, or he that is appointed, SHALL READ THE EPISTLE, in a place assigned for the purpose, SAYING,

*(or, The portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle) is*

THE EPISTLE ^ of Saint Paul, WRITTEN IN THE — CHAPTER — OF — to the —.

*beginning at the — Verse.*

The Minister then shall read

idea of the second from Prov. xxi. 1, ' The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord, like as are the rivers of water : he may turn it whithersoever he will.'

*Collects of the Day.*—The Collects for the Day have in many cases carried the doctrinal teaching of the Church from earliest times, and are introduced here from the Sarum precedent.

*And*

the Epistle. Immediately after  $\wedge$  THE EPISTLE ENDED, *he shall say, Here endeth the Epistle.*

$\wedge$  the priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel, shall *Then shall be read the Gospel (the people all standing up) saying,*

say,  $\wedge$  THE HOLY GOSPEL is WRITTEN IN THE ——— CHAPTER OF ———.

*beginning at the ——— Verse.*

The Clerks and people shall answer,  
Glory be to thee, O Lord.

*And*

The Priest or Deacon then shall read the Gospel : After  $\wedge$

*Rubric Directions for the Reading of Epistle and Gospel.*—The instruction for reading of the Epistle and Gospel by the sub-deacon and deacon respectively from the pulpit was changed in the translation from the Latin to make the place of reading indefinite, and to assign the Gospel to be read by the priest or some one appointed for the purpose. When the priest was celebrating alone, as would happen in most cases, the awkwardness of going to the pulpit for the reading and returning to begin the creed *in medio altaris* would almost necessitate his reading both Gospel and Epistle at the altar. Without definite instruction, this is now the rule of the English Church.

In the rubric preceding the reading of the two lections both the indication of the verse which is due to the Scottish Book, and the more correct wording to cover other portions of scripture which were sometimes read in place of the Epistle, were introduced in 1661. Referring to the latter addition Mr. Brightman says, 'It gives effect in an ugly form to the 2nd concession of the Savoy Bishops' (12/cxcv). The Bishops also agreed to 'a more perfect rendering of such portions of holy scripture' as were selected, by following the 1611 version of the Bible. But instead of indicating the parts of the Epistle and Gospels not represented in the Greek, which were marked in the 1611 Bible and in the Book Annexed, the Sealed Books (p. 35) ignore these differences entirely.

*Responses to the Gospel.*—The GLORIA TIBI DOMINE, which was translated in the 1549 text and omitted in 1552 and after, is another instance of a long unwritten tradition. The same sort of tradition preserves the custom in some places of saying 'Thanks

## THE GOSPEL ENDED

*shall be sung or said the Creed following, the people still standing, the Priest shall begin, as before.*

I BELIEVE IN ONE GOD.

The Clerks shall sing the rest.

THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH, AND OF ALL THINGS VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE : AND IN ONE LORD JESU CHRIST, THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD, BEGOTTEN OF HIS FATHER BEFORE ALL WORLDS, GOD OF GOD, LIGHT OF LIGHT, VERY GOD OF VERY GOD, BEGOTTEN NOT MADE, BEING OF ONE SUBSTANCE WITH THE FATHER, BY WHOM ALL THINGS WERE MADE, WHO FOR US MEN AND FOR OUR SALVATION CAME DOWN FROM HEAVEN, AND WAS INCARNATE BY THE HOLY GHOST OF THE VIRGIN MARY, AND WAS MADE MAN, AND WAS CRUCIFIED ALSO FOR US UNDER PONTIUS PILATE. HE SUFFERED AND WAS BURIED, AND THE THIRD DAY HE ROSE AGAIN ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES, AND ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN, AND SITTETH

*on*

at THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER : AND HE SHALL COME AGAIN WITH GLORY TO JUDGE BOTH THE  
   : *Whose kingdom shall have no end.*  
 QUICK AND THE DEAD.   ^   AND I BELIEVE IN THE

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be to thee, O Lord ' after the Gospel—a custom probably Greek in origin.

*Changes in the text of the Creed.*—The preposition in the phrase of the Creed, AT THE RIGHT HAND, which translated AD with the accusative, was rendered in 1661 as ON, i. e. in the same way as it is rendered in the QUICUNQUE. CUIUS REGNI NON ERIT FINIS for some reason was omitted from the 1549 translation of the Creed. But since 1552 the clause has been included.

HOLY GHOST, THE LORD AND GIVER OF LIFE, WHO PROCEEDETH FROM THE FATHER AND THE SON, WHO WITH THE FATHER AND THE SON TOGETHER IS WORSHIPPED AND GLORIFIED, WHO SPAKE BY THE PROPHETS. AND I BELIEVE ONE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH. I ACKNOWLEDGE ONE BAPTISM, FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. AND I LOOK FOR THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD AND THE LIFE OF THE WORLD TO COME. AMEN.

*Then the Curate shall declare unto the people what Holy-days, or Fasting-days, are in the Week following to be observed. And then also (if occasion be) shall notice be given of the Communion; and Briefs, Citations, and Excommunications read. And nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the Church, during the time of Divine Service, but by the Minister: nor by him anything, but what is prescribed in the Rules of this Book, or enjoined by the King, or by the Ordinary of the place.*

*Then*

After the Creed ended,  $\wedge$  SHALL FOLLOW THE SERMON  
*already set forth, or*  
 OR Homily or some portion of ONE OF THE HOMILIES,  $\wedge$   
*to be set forth, by authority.*

as they shall be HEREAFTER  $\wedge$  divided: wherein if the people be not exhorted to the worthy receiving of the holy Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, then

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*Notices for Holy Days, &c.*—Although the English and French custom had in the past been to notify the people of holy days, &c., at the time of the Bidding of the Bedes before the sermon, in 1552 the rubric placing them after the sermon was introduced.

*Sermon.*—In 1560 the Bishops, chiefly for their own use in connexion with the Injunctions (p. 19), drew up an official list of homilies according to the promise in the 1552 rubric of homilies 'hereafter to be set forth by common authority'.

shall the Curate give this exhortation, to those that be minded to receive the same.

*[The three Exhortations here following are placed after the Prayer for the Whole Church Militant on Earth and before the Invitation 'Ye that do', &c.]*

*When the Minister giveth warning for the celebration of the holy Communion (which he shall always do upon the Sunday, or some Holy-day, immediately preceding,) after the Sermon or Homily ended, he shall read this Exhortation following,*

*[The following Exhortation is placed last in the order of Exhortations.]*

*At the time of the Celebration of the Communion, the Communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament, the Priest shall say this Exhortation.*

DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD, YE THAT MIND TO COME TO THE HOLY COMMUNION OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST, MUST CONSIDER *how Saint* what St. PAUL writeth to the Corinthians, how he EXHORTETH ALL PERSONS DILIGENTLY TO TRY AND EX-

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*Change in Position of the Exhortations.*—The position of the Exhortations was changed in 1552 from this point to a place after the Prayer for the Church. The Bucer-Martyr influence is evident here in the addition of a third exhortation, especially in the rebuke to assistants who will not communicate.

*Rubric for 1st Exhortation.*—The rubric introducing this exhortation, which was in 1552 placed last of the three, refers to the placing of the communicants with the purpose of making clear the meaning of the words 'draw near' in the Invitation that follows.

*Contents of 1st Exhortation.*—The sources for the exhortation are as follows: 'Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup' (1 Cor. xi. 28), 'for they that so do, be made one with Christ, and dwell in him, and he in them, as he saith in the vi chapter of St. John's Gospel' (*Necessary Doctrine*, f. K. i.)



AMINE THEMSELVES, BEFORE THEY PRESUME TO EAT OF THAT BREAD AND DRINK OF THAT CUP : FOR AS

THE BENEFIT IS GREAT, IF WITH A <sup>true</sup> PENITENT HEART, AND LIVELY FAITH, WE RECEIVE THAT HOLY SACRAMENT ; (FOR THEN WE SPIRITUALLY EAT THE FLESH OF CHRIST, AND DRINK HIS BLOOD, THEN WE

DWELL IN CHRIST, AND CHRIST IN US, WE <sup>are</sup> be made ONE WITH CHRIST, AND CHRIST WITH US ;) SO IS THE DANGER GREAT, IF WE RECEIVE THE SAME UN-

WORTHILY ; FOR THEN WE <sup>are</sup> become GUILTY OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR, WE EAT AND DRINK OUR OWN DAMNATION, NOT CONSIDERING

THE LORD'S BODY. WE KINDLE GOD'S WRATH <sup>against</sup> over

*Contents of 1st Exhortation continued.*—' Whosoever shall eat of this bread, or drink of the cup of the Lord unworthily shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. . . . For he that eateth or drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body. For this cause many are weak and sick among you, and many sleep ' (1 Cor. xi. 27, 29 sq.). The communicant is urged to repent and reminded of the fate of Judas in St. Luke xxii. 3 and St. John xiii. 2. He is urged to profit by the advice in 1 Cor. xi. 31 : ' If we had judged ourselves, we should not have been judged. But when we are judged of the Lord. . . . ' He is to give thanks to God for his Son, because ' he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross ' (Phil. ii. 8), in order ' to give light to them that sat in darkness, and in the shadow of death '. He (according to *Necessary doctrine*, f. I. ii) ' did then institute and ordain this most high and principal sacrament of the new testament. Wherein is verily expressed and presented the most exceeding and inexplicable love of our saviour Jesu Christ, toward us, his church, with whom it hath pleased him to leave for our nourishment, strength and comfort, so precious and glorious a sacrament . . . continual remembrance, '—' quam . . . sancta sua passione sanguinisque pretiosi effusione nobis com-

US, WE PROVOKE HIM TO PLAGUE US WITH DIVERS DISEASES, AND SUNDRY KINDS OF DEATH.

[*The following Sentence, as corrected, is placed in the first Exhortation.*]

THEREFORE IF ANY  
*of you of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his Word, an adulterer*  
 ∧ here BE A BLASPHEMER, ∧ adventurer, OR BE IN  
 MALICE, OR ENVY, OR IN ANY OTHER GRIEVOUS CRIME  
 (except he be truly sorry therefore, and earnestly minded to  
 leave the same vices, and do trust himself to be reconciled to  
 Almighty God, and in charity with all the world), *repent*  
*you of your sins, or else come not to that holy Table*  
 bewail his sins, and not come to that holy table; LEST  
 AFTER THE TAKING OF THAT *holy* Sacrament most blessed bread, THE  
 DEVIL ENTER INTO *you* him, AS HE *entered* did INTO JUDAS,  
*and you* to FILL him FULL OF ALL *iniquities* iniquity, AND BRING *you* him TO  
 DESTRUCTION, BOTH OF BODY AND SOUL.

[*The remainder of the Exhortation continues the first part above.*]

JUDGE THEREFORE YOURSELVES (BRETHREN)  
 THAT YE BE NOT JUDGED OF THE LORD. Let your  
 mind be without desire to sin, REPENT YOU TRULY FOR  
 YOUR SINS PAST, HAVE *and stedfast* an earnest and LIVELY ∧ FAITH  
 ; *amend your lives, and*  
 IN CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR, ∧ BE IN PERFECT CHARITY  
 WITH ALL MEN; SO SHALL YE BE MEET PARTAKERS

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paravit' (*Antididagma*, lix). Therefore let us give ourselves to God with thanks that we 'might serve him without fear all the days of our life, in such holiness and righteousness' (St. Luke i. 74) or as it is in Eph. iv. 24 'in righteousness and true holiness'.

OF THOSE HOLY MYSTERIES. AND ABOVE ALL THINGS YE MUST GIVE MOST HUMBLE AND HEARTY THANKS TO GOD THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY GHOST, FOR THE REDEMPTION OF THE WORLD BY THE DEATH AND PASSION OF OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST, BOTH GOD AND MAN: WHO DID HUMBLE HIMSELF EVEN TO THE DEATH UPON THE CROSS, FOR

US MISERABLE SINNERS, <sup>who</sup> which LAY IN DARKNESS AND SHADOW OF DEATH, THAT HE MIGHT MAKE US THE CHILDREN OF GOD, AND EXALT US TO EVER-LASTING LIFE. AND TO THE END THAT WE SHOULD

ALWAYS REMEMBER THE EXCEEDING <sup>great</sup> ^ LOVE OF OUR MASTER, AND ONLY SAVIOUR JESU CHRIST, THUS DYING FOR US, AND THE INNUMERABLE BENEFITS, WHICH (BY HIS PRECIOUS BLOOD-SHEDDING) HE

HATH OBTAINED TO US, <sup>instituted and ordained</sup> HE HATH ^ left in those HOLY

MYSTERIES, AS <sup>pledges</sup> a pledge OF HIS LOVE, AND ^ <sup>for</sup> A CON-

TINUAL REMEMBRANCE OF <sup>his death</sup> the same, his own blessed body, and precious blood, for us to feed upon spiritually, TO

<sup>great and</sup> OUR ^ ENDLESS COMFORT and consolation. TO HIM THEREFORE, WITH THE FATHER AND THE HOLY GHOST, LET US GIVE (AS WE ARE MOST BOUNDEN)

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*Order of Exhortations.*—In 1552 the order of the two exhortations with certain alterations had been inverted and a new exhortation placed in front of them. In 1661, owing to a concession of the Bishops at the Savoy Conference the order of the first two of the three exhortations was inverted. Thus, as we have it now, of the 1549 exhortations the first is last and the last first, and the exhortation added in 1552 is placed in the middle.

CONTINUAL THANKS, SUBMITTING OURSELVES WHOLLY TO HIS HOLY WILL AND PLEASURE AND STUDYING TO SERVE HIM IN TRUE HOLINESS AND RIGHTEOUSNESS ALL THE DAYS OF OUR LIFE.

[*The following Exhortation is placed first, directly after the Prayer for the Church.*]

In Cathedral churches or other places, where there is daily Communion, it shall be sufficient to read this exhortation above written, once in a month. And in parish churches, upon the week days it may be left unsaid. And if upon the Sunday or holy day, the people be negligent to come to the Communion: Then shall the Priest earnestly exhort his parishioners to dispose themselves to the receiving of the Holy Communion more diligently, saying these or like words unto them.

*Dearly beloved,*

Dear friends, and you especially upon whose souls I have cure and charge, ON ——— <sup>purpose through</sup> NEXT, I <sup>assistance</sup>  $\wedge$  do intend by GOD'S  $\wedge$  <sup>administer</sup> <sup>religiously and devoutly</sup> grace, TO offer  $\wedge$  TO ALL SUCH AS SHALL BE  $\wedge$  godly DISPOSED, THE MOST COMFORTABLE SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST, &c.

[*Between the two Exhortations noted above is inserted the following Exhortation.*]

*Or in case he shall see the people negligent to come to the holy Communion; instead of the former, he shall use this Exhortation.*

*Dearly beloved brethren, On ——— I intend, by God's grace, to celebrate the Lord's Supper unto which in God's behalf, I bid you all that are here present, and beseech you for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, that ye will not refuse to come thereto, being so lovingly called and bidden by God himself, &c. ¶ At the time of the celebration of the Communion, the communicants being*



LET HIM THAT IS TAUGHT . . .	GALA. VI.
WHILE WE HAVE TIME . . .	GALA. VI.
GODLINESS IS GREAT RICHES . . .	I TIMO. VI.
	<i>who</i>
CHARGE THEM which ARE RICH . . .	I TIMO. VI.
GOD IS NOT UNRIGHTEOUS . . .	HEBRE. VI.
TO DO GOOD, AND TO DISTRIBUTE . . .	HEBRE. XIII.
	<i>St.</i>
WHOSO HATH THIS WORLD'S GOOD . . .	I ^ JOHN III.
	<i>Tobit</i>
GIVE ALMS OF THY GOODS	Toby IV.
	<i>Tobit</i>
BE MERCIFUL AFTER THY POWER . . .	Toby IV.
HE THAT HATH PITY UPON THE POOR	PROV. XIX.
BLESSED BE THE MAN THAT . . .	PSALM XLI.

Where there be Clerks, they shall sing one, or many of the sentences above written, according to the length and shortness of the time, that the people be offering.

*Whilst these sentences are in reading, the Deacons, Church-*

*In the mean time, whiles the Clerks do sing the Offertory, wardens, or other fit person appointed for that purpose, shall so many as are disposed, shall offer unto the poor men's box receive the Alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people,*

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*Change in Rubrics.*—Perhaps the observation in the Exceptions of the Ministers (Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 318), that certain of the offertories were 'more proper to draw out the people's bounty to their ministers than their charity to the poor', influenced the change in this rubric. Also the rubric following the sentences speaks of receiving alms for the poor and other devotions of the people.

*Direction for placing the Alms on the Altar.*—'That the holy oblations . . . be received by the minister . . . and then by him to be reverently presented before the Lord, and set upon the table till service be ended,' is an instruction in Wren's Particular orders . . . given in the diocese of Norwich (in Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* ii. 205). Also Jeremy Taylor's 'Collections of Offices' (*Works*, ed. Heber,

every one according to his ability and charitable mind. And in a decent bason to be provided by the Parish for that purpose ; at the offering days appointed, every man and woman shall and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings. and place it upon the holy Table.

Then so many as shall be partakers of the holy Communion, shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and Clerks.

Then shall the minister take so much Bread and Wine, as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy Communion, laying the Bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose. And putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup, prepared for that use (if the chalice will not serve), putting thereto a little pure and clean And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place

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xv. 298) reads, ' let (the Minister) in an humble manner present it to God, laying it on the Communion table ; secretly and devoutly saying ; " Lord accept the oblation and alms of thy people," ' &c. (Wren and Taylor, see p. 31).

*Days of Offering.*—The OFFERING DAYS referred to in the 1549 text are not provided for in our present Book, but there remains an almost universal survival of the custom on Easter Day.

*Instructions for Offerings.*—The instructions for the preparation of the offerings were entirely omitted in 1552, and, according to the intention set forth in the 1662 Preface, of eliminating ambiguities, certain instructions were replaced.

*Preparation of Elements.*—That only ' SO MUCH BREAD AND WINE ' be prepared at the offertory ' as shall suffice for the communicants ', because of its emphasis on the consecration of the elements, was objectionable to Bucer, together with other benedictions of things (*Censura*, iv. 463).

*upon the Table so much Bread and Wine, as he shall think water : and setting both the bread and Wine upon the Altar : sufficient.*

then the Priest shall say,

*[The following Sursum Corda and the Preface ending with the Sanctus is placed later, after the Comfortable Words and before the Prayer of Humble Access.]*

The Lord be with you.

Answer.

And with thy spirit.

*After which the Priest shall proceed, saying,*  
Priest.

LIFT UP YOUR HEARTS.

ANSWER—WE LIFT THEM UP UNTO THE LORD.

PRIEST—LET US GIVE THANKS <sup>unto</sup> TO OUR LORD GOD.

ANSWER—IT IS MEET AND RIGHT SO TO DO.

*Then shall the Priest turn to the Lord's Table, and say,*

Priest—IT IS VERY MEET, RIGHT, AND OUR BOUNDEN

*These words (Holy Father) must be omitted on Trinity-Sunday.* DUTY, THAT WE SHOULD AT ALL TIMES, AND IN ALL PLACES, GIVE THANKS TO THEE, O LORD, HOLY FATHER, ALMIGHTY, EVERLASTING GOD.

HERE SHALL FOLLOW THE PROPER PREFACE ACCORDING TO THE TIME (IF THERE BE ANY SPECIALLY APPOINTED,) OR ELSE IMMEDIATELY SHALL FOLLOW,

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*Beginning of the Canon.*—The DOMINUS VOBISCUM, ET CUM SPIRITU TUO was left out in the 1552 simplification. But the canon of the Sarum Use beginning, SURSUM CORDA—HABEMUS AD DOMINUM—GRATIAM AGAMUS DOMINO DEO NOSTRO—DIGNUM ET IUSTUM EST—VERE DIGNUM ET IUSTUM EST EQUUM ET SALUTARE. NOS TIBI SEMPER ET UBIQUE GRATIAS AGERE : DOMINE SANCTE PATER OMNIPOTENS ETERNE DEUS is translated in detail.



*and Archangels, and with*

**THEREFORE WITH ANGELS, &c.**

*all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name; evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Glory be to thee, O Lord most High. Amen.*

**PROPER PREFACES**

*, and seven days after.*

**UPON CHRISTMAS DAY.**

**BECAUSE THOU DIDST GIVE JESUS CHRIST, THINE**

**ONLY SON, TO BE BORN AS** <sup>*at*</sup> <sup>*time*</sup> **^ THIS day FOR US, . . .**

**THEREFORE, ^** <sup>*with Angels,*</sup> **&c.**

*, and seven days after.*

**UPON EASTER DAY.**

**BUT CHIEFLY WE ARE BOUND TO PRAISE THEE, . . .**

**THEREFORE, ^** <sup>*with Angels,*</sup> **&c.**

*, and seven days after.*

**UPON the ASCENSION DAY.**

**THROUGH THY MOST** <sup>*dearly*</sup> **^ dear BELOVED SON, JESUS**

The direction for the priest added before the VERE DIGNUM, the omission of HOLY FATHER in the same prayer, and the full translation of the ET IDEO CUM ANGELIS, are effects of the definiteness and clarity aimed at by the 1661 compilers.

*Christmas Preface.*—In the Preface for Christmas Day, as in other places which the writer of the 1662 Preface considers ‘liable to misconstruction’, the same aim is apparent, i.e. definiteness.

*Time of saying Prefaces.*—The rubric SEQUENS PRAEFATIO DICITUR IN DIE . . . PASCHE ET PER TOTAM HEBDOMADEN . . . is translated from the Sarum more clearly in 1661 as UPON EASTER DAY AND SEVEN DAYS AFTER. The Puritans declared that the festival days were actual anniversaries of events which had happened on those very days. Thus the Preface for Easter Day could not be said SEVEN DAYS AFTER. The 1661 compilers saw

CHRIST OUR LORD, WHO AFTER HIS MOST GLORIOUS  
RESURRECTION MANIFESTLY APPEARED TO ALL HIS

*Apostles* with *Angels*,  
disciples, . . . THEREFORE,  $\wedge$  &c.

, and six days after.

UPON WHIT-SUNDAY.

THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD, ACCORDING  
TO WHOSE MOST TRUE PROMISE, THE HOLY GHOST

*as at time*

CAME DOWN THIS day FROM HEAVEN, . . . THERE-  
FORE, &c.

*only.*

UPON THE FEAST OF the TRINITY.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should  
at all times and in all places, give thanks to thee, O Lord,

*Who*

almighty, everlasting God, which ART ONE GOD, ONE

*Therefore with Angels, &c.*

LORD, . . . whom the angels, &c.

*each of Prefaces*

AFTER  $\wedge$  WHICH preface SHALL follow IMMEDI-

*be sung or said,*

ATELY,

THEREFORE WITH ANGELS AND ARCHANGELS, AND  
WITH ALL THE holy COMPANY OF HEAVEN, WE LAUD

the folly of this and not only made the addition to the heading  
but changed the phrase, TO BE BORN AS THIS DAY FOR US, to AS  
AT THIS TIME. The contents of this Preface and those following  
is translated from the same text.

*Recitation of the Preface and Sanctus.*—Where there were no  
clerks to sing the *Sanctus* it was necessary for the priest to  
continue with it after saying the Preface, THEREFORE WITH  
ANGELS, &c. Accordingly in 1559 the two parts were printed  
together. In a few years it had become customary for the  
people to join the priest in saying both Preface and Sanctus.  
The addition to the rubric in 1662 of SUNG OR SAID would seem  
to confirm this custom, but since the last quarter of the nineteenth

AND MAGNIFY THY GLORIOUS NAME, EVERMORE  
PRAISING THEE, AND SAYING, ¶ HOLY, HOLY,  
HOLY, LORD GOD OF HOSTS : HEAVEN AND EARTH  
ARE FULL OF THY GLORY : Osannah in the highest.

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord : GLORY <sup>be</sup> ^  
*most High. Amen.*  
TO THEE, O LORD, in the highest.

This the Clerks shall also sing.

[*The following Prayer for the Church on Earth comes directly after the Offertory given above.*]

¶ When the Clerks have done singing, then shall THE  
PRIEST, or deacon, turn him to the people, and <sup>shall</sup> ^ SAY,  
LET US PRAY FOR THE WHOLE STATE OF CHRIST'S  
*militant here in earth.*  
CHURCH.

Then the Priest, turning him to the Altar, shall say or sing,  
plainly and distinctly, this prayer following :

ALMIGHTY AND EVERLIVING GOD, <sup>who</sup> which BY THY  
HOLY APOSTLE HAST TAUGHT US TO MAKE PRAYERS

century the priest in most places has said the Preface and the people joined with the HOLY, HOLY, HOLY. . . . The translation of BENEDICTUS QUI VENIT IN NOMINE DOMINI was omitted in 1552 in shortening the *Sanctus*.

*Change in Position of the Prayer for the Church.*—The removal of the Prayer for the Church in 1552 from the Canon to a position directly following the Offertory was Cranmer's retort to Gardiner's claim (see p. 7 of Introduction) that in joining ourselves with Christ we offer Him. 'This persuasion,' Gardiner says, 'hath been duly conceived, which is also in the book of common prayer in the celebration of the holy supper retained, that it is very profitable at that time, when the memory of Christ's death is solemnized, to remember with prayer the estates of the church, and to recommend them to God' (12/cxlv).

*Contents of the Prayer for the Church.*—Referring to St. Paul's words, 'I exhort therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers,

AND SUPPLICATIONS, AND TO GIVE THANKS FOR ALL

*\*If there be no  
alms or oblations,  
then shall the  
words (of accept-  
ing our alms and  
oblations) be left  
out unsaid.*

MEN : WE HUMBLY BESEECH THEE MOST

*\* (to accept our alms and oblations, and)*

MERCIFULLY  $\wedge$  TO RECEIVE THESE OUR

PRAYERS, WHICH WE OFFER UNTO THY  
DIVINE MAJESTY, BESEECHING THEE TO INSPIRE  
CONTINUALLY THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH WITH THE  
SPIRIT OF TRUTH, UNITY, AND CONCORD : AND  
GRANT THAT ALL THEY THAT DO CONFESS THY  
HOLY NAME, MAY AGREE IN THE TRUTH OF THY  
HOLY WORD, AND LIVE IN UNITY AND GODLY LOVE,

*also*

Specially WE BESEECH THEE  $\wedge$  TO SAVE AND DE-

*all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors ; and specially*  
FEND  $\wedge$  THY SERVANT Edward OUR KING, THAT  
*(George)*

UNDER HIM WE MAY BE GODLY AND QUIETLY GO-  
VERNED. AND GRANT UNTO HIS WHOLE COUNCIL,

*are*

AND TO ALL THAT be PUT IN AUTHORITY UNDER HIM,  
THAT THEY MAY TRULY AND INDIFFERENTLY MINIS-  
TER JUSTICE, TO THE PUNISHMENT OF WICKEDNESS

---

intercessions, thanksgivings, be made for all men ' (1 Tim. ii. 1) ; the prayer takes up a translation, with certain variations, of the TE IGITUR . . . SUPPLICES ROGAMUS AC PETIMUS (To the petition for alms inserted in 1552 the oblations were added in 1661 according to the Exceptions of the Ministers.) UTI ACCEPTA HABEAS ET BENEDICAS HEC DO + NA . . . IMPRIMIS QUE TIBI OFFERIMUS : PRO ECCLESIA TUA SANCTA CATHOLICA QUAM PACIFICARE : CUSTODIRE ADNUARE & REGERE DIGNERIS TOTO ORBE TERRARUM UNA CUM FAMULO TUO PAPA NOSTRO N . . . , & ANTISTITE NOSTRO. N . . . , ET REGE NOSTRO N . . . , & OMNIBUS ORTHODOXIS : ATQUE CATHOLICE ET APOSTOLICE FIDEI CULTORIBUS. The petition is made ' that we may live a quiet and peaceable life, with all godliness and honesty ' under the king (1 Tim. ii. 2). The prayer is made for all people, and later, in accordance with its removal from the Canon, for the congregation especially, ' that we . . . might

AND VICE, AND TO THE MAINTENANCE OF <sup>thy</sup> God's TRUE RELIGION AND VIRTUE. GIVE GRACE (O HEAVENLY FATHER) TO ALL BISHOPS, Pastors, AND CURATES, THAT THEY MAY BOTH BY THEIR LIFE AND DOCTRINE SET FORTH THY TRUE AND LIVELY WORD, AND RIGHTLY AND DULY ADMINISTER THY HOLY SACRAMENTS: AND TO ALL THY PEOPLE GIVE THY

*and specially to this congregation here present;*  
HEAVENLY GRACE, ^ THAT WITH MEEK HEART AND DUE REVERENCE THEY MAY HEAR AND RECEIVE THY HOLY WORD, TRULY SERVING THEE IN HOLINESS AND RIGHTEOUSNESS ALL THE DAYS OF THEIR LIFE. AND WE MOST HUMBLY BESEECH THEE OF THY GOODNESS (O LORD) TO COMFORT AND SUCCOUR ALL

*who* THEM, which IN THIS TRANSITORY LIFE *are* be IN TROUBLE, SORROW, NEED, SICKNESS, OR ANY OTHER ADVERSITY. And especially we commend unto thy merciful goodness this congregation which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son: and here we do give unto thee most high praise, and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all thy saints, from the beginning of the world: And chiefly in the glorious and most blessed virgin Mary,

---

serve him without fear all the days of our life, in such holiness and righteousness as are acceptable before him' (St. Luke i. 74).

Because this Prayer for the Church concluded the service, according to a 1552 rubric if there was no communion, the reference to those about to commemorate the death of Christ was not always appropriate, and was replaced by the general clause for the congregation above noted. The remainder of the prayer with its source chiefly in the Sarum yet showing the influence of the Antididagma and the Liturgy of St. Basil introduces the prayer for the dead. Bucer criticized this commemora-

*and we also*

mother of thy Son Jesu Christ our Lord and God, and in the  
*bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy*  
 holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, whose  
*faith and fear ; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their*  
 examples (O Lord) and stedfastness in thy faith, and keeping  
*good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy*  
 thy holy commandments, grant us to follow. We commend  
*heavenly kingdom : Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's*  
 unto thy mercy (O Lord) all other thy servants, which are  
*sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.*

departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do  
 rest in the sleep of peace : Grant unto them, we beseech thee,  
 thy mercy, and everlasting peace, and that, at the day of  
 general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical  
 body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand,  
 and hear that his most joyful voice : Come unto me, O ye  
 that be blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom, which  
 is prepared for you from the beginning of the world : Grant  
 this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator  
 and Advocate.

tion of saints and prayers for the dead and offered a substitute  
 (*Censura*, ix. 467 sq.). But the 1552 revisers ignored the  
 substitute and omitted the petitions entirely. We find in the  
 Injunctions 1559 : 'A form of bidding the prayers. . . Finally,  
 let us praise God for all those, that are departed out of this life  
 in the faith of Christ, and pray unto God, that we may have  
 grace for to direct our lives after their good example, that after  
 this life, we with them may be made partakers of the glorious  
 resurrection in the life everlasting' (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 189).

*Rubric for Position before Consecration.*—The BREAKING OF THE  
 BREAD was not definitely directed in 1549 to be made at the  
 words HE BREAK IT, nor was there any rubric before the Consecra-  
 tion Prayer. In 1552 the direction for the Priest to stand and  
 say the Prayer was inserted. And in 1662 detailed instructions  
 are set for the actions at the time of consecration. The provision



FACTION, FOR THE SINS OF THE WHOLE WORLD, AND DID INSTITUTE, AND IN HIS HOLY GOSPEL COMMAND

*continue*

US TO celebrate A PERPETUAL MEMORY OF THAT HIS PRECIOUS DEATH, UNTIL HIS COMING AGAIN : HEAR

*most humbly*

US (O MERCIFUL FATHER) WE  $\wedge$  BESEECH THEE ;

*grant that we receiving*

AND with thy holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify THESE THY gifts, and CREATURES OF BREAD *according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed*

AND WINE, that they may be unto us the  $\wedge$  BODY AND BLOOD of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ. \*WHO, IN THE SAME NIGHT THAT HE WAS BETRAYED,

(a)

TOOK BREAD, AND WHEN HE HAD blessed, and GIVEN

THANKS, (b) HE BREAK IT, AND GAVE IT TO HIS

DISCIPLES, SAYING : TAKE, EAT, (c) THIS IS MY BODY WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU : DO THIS IN REMEM-

(d)

BRANCE OF ME. LIKEWISE AFTER SUPPER HE

---

prayeth that creatures of bread and wine, set on the altar (as the book of common prayer in this realm hath ordered) may be unto us the body and blood of our Saviour Christ', was answered by Cranmer in this alteration of the Consecration Prayer (see Introduction, p. 7).

*Rubric for Manner of Administration.*—The Directions for the Acts in consecration, which appeared in accordance with the Sarum custom in the 1549 translation, were removed in 1552 through the Martyr-Bucer influence (*Censura*, ix. 472). From Wren and Cosin, from the Ministers in their Exceptions, and from Jeremy Taylor came proposals for the Directions. The whole wafer used by Roman Catholics and the idea of distribution held by Lutherans drove the Calvinists to an insistence on



TOOK THE CUP ; AND WHEN HE HAD GIVEN THANKS,  
HE GAVE IT TO THEM, SAYING : DRINK YE ALL OF

THIS, FOR THIS <sup>(e)</sup> IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTA-  
MENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY, FOR  
THE REMISSION OF SINS : DO THIS AS OFT AS <sup>ye</sup> you  
*Amen.*  
SHALL DRINK IT, IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME.

<sup>(a)</sup> *is to* *Paten*  
\* HERE THE PRIEST must TAKE THE bread INTO HIS  
HANDS.

<sup>(b)</sup> *And here to break the Bread.*

<sup>(c)</sup> *And here to lay his hand upon all the Bread.*

<sup>(d)</sup> *he is to* *hand :*  
HERE the Priest shall TAKE THE CUP INTO HIS hands.

<sup>(e)</sup> *And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it Chalice or  
Flagon) in which there is any Wine to be consecrated.*

These words before rehearsed are to be said, turning still  
to the Altar, without any elevation, or showing the Sacrament  
to the people.

*[The following Prayer is placed after the Communion,  
between the Lord's Prayer and the Thanksgiving.]*

*After shall be said as followeth.*

Wherefore, O LORD AND HEAVENLY FATHER, accord-  
ing to the Institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour  
Jesu Christ, WE THY HUMBLE SERVANTS do celebrate,

the ceremonial fraction. But especially the influence of the  
Scottish Book of 1637 brought the concession of the Bishops in  
the Savoy Conference which restored the Directions for the Acts  
in greater detail.

*The Prayer of Acceptance.*—The Prayer for the acceptance of  
the offering which finds its sources in the New Testament, the  
Liturgy of St. Basil, the Antididagma, and the Sarum Use, was  
removed in 1552, probably because of its emphasis on the idea

and make here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make : having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension, rendering unto thee most hearty thanks, for the innumerable benefits procured

*desire*

unto us by the same, ENTIRELY desiring THY FATHERLY GOODNESS, MERCIFULLY TO ACCEPT THIS OUR SACRIFICE OF PRAISE AND THANKSGIVING : MOST HUMBLY BESEECHING THEE TO GRANT, THAT BY THE MERITS AND DEATH OF THY SON JESUS CHRIST, AND THROUGH FAITH IN HIS BLOOD, WE AND ALL THY WHOLE CHURCH MAY OBTAIN REMISSION OF OUR SINS, AND ALL OTHER BENEFITS OF HIS PASSION. AND HERE WE OFFER AND PRESENT UNTO THEE (O LORD) OUR-

*selves*

self, OUR SOULS, AND BODIES, TO BE A REASONABLE, HOLY AND LIVELY SACRIFICE UNTO THEE; HUMBLY

*all we, who are*

BESEECHING THEE, THAT whosoever shall be PARTAKERS OF THIS HOLY COMMUNION, MAY worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, and BE FULFILLED WITH THY GRACE AND HEAVENLY BENEDICTION, and made one body with thy Son Jesus Christ, that he may dwell in them, and they in

---

of sacrifice before the Communion, to a position after the Communion and Lord's Prayer. The change of position accounts for the alterations of references to the Communion about to be celebrated. Mr. Brightman points out that the clause, HUMBLY BESEECHING THEE . . ., is one of the three passages in which changes or omissions are made where Bucer expressly asked for no change (*Censura*, ix. 473; 12/clv). The petition for the angels to assist with the prayers was criticized by Bucer, but instead of replacing it with the substitute he offered, the passage was simply omitted (*Censura*, ix. 472; 12/clv).

him. AND ALTHOUGH WE BE UNWORTHY (THROUGH OUR MANIFOLD SINS) TO OFFER UNTO THEE ANY SACRIFICE : YET WE BESEECH THEE TO ACCEPT THIS OUR BOUNDEN DUTY AND SERVICE, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy Angels, to be brought up into thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of thy divine Majesty ; NOT WEIGHING OUR MERITS, BUT PARDONING OUR OFFENCES, THROUGH *Jesus*

^ CHRIST OUR LORD ; BY WHOM, AND WITH WHOM, IN THE UNITY OF THE HOLY GHOST, ALL HONOUR AND GLORY BE UNTO THEE, O FATHER ALMIGHTY, WORLD WITHOUT END. AMEN.

[*The Lord's Prayer follows directly on the Communion.*]

*Then shall the Priest say the Lord's Prayer, the people repeating after him every petition.*

Let us pray. As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say. OUR FATHER, WHICH ART IN HEAVEN, HALLOWED BE THY NAME. THY KINGDOM COME. THY WILL BE DONE IN EARTH, AS IT IS IN HEAVEN. GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD. AND FORGIVE US OUR TRESPASSES, AS WE FORGIVE

*Change in the Lord's Prayer.*—The removal of the Lord's Prayer in 1552 to cause it to follow the Communion inverted its relation to the Prayer of Acceptance. At the same time the preface which had been transposed from the Latin—'PRECEPTIS SALUTARIBUS MONITI ET DIVINA INSTITUTIONE FORMATI AUDEMUS DICERE'—was lost. But the text, which was again in 1662 printed in full, was improved at that time by the addition of the doxology.

*Omission after the Lord's Prayer.*—The PAX DOMINI + SIT SEM + PER VO + BISCUM, ET CUM SPIRITU TUO and the prayer combining the three following passages (from 1 Cor. v. 7, 8) : 'Christ our passover is offered up for us. Therefore, let us keep holy day ;' (from 1 Pet. ii. 24) 'which his own self bare our sins in his body on the tree ;' (from St. John i. 29) 'Behold the lamb of God, which takest away the sins of the world'—are omitted in the 1552 simplification.

THEM THAT TRESPASS AGAINST US. AND LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION.

: *For thine is the kingdom, The power, and the glory, For ever and ever*

The Answer. BUT DELIVER US FROM EVIL ^ . AMEN.

Then shall the Priest say,

The peace of the Lord be always with you.

The Clerks. And with thy spirit.

The Priest. Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered up for us, once for all, when he bare our sins on his body upon the cross ; for he is the very Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world : wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast with the Lord.

[*The following Prayers until the Communion are placed after the Exhortations and before the Sursum Corda, as noted above.*]

*Then shall* *say to them*

Here ^ THE PRIEST shall turn him toward those THAT

*receive*

COME TO ^ THE HOLY COMMUNION, and shall say,

*Ye*

You THAT DO TRULY AND EARNESTLY REPENT YOU

*Change in Position of Prayers before Communion.*—The penitential preparation preceding Communion, which had been translated into English in 1548 to accompany the Latin Mass, was with some appropriateness made to follow the Exhortations in 1552.

*In the Invitation.*—In 1548 the expression DRAW NEAR in this Invitation had the meaning of approaching the Communion Rail in due time for receiving the Sacrament. In 1549, although the communicants were directed to remain in the quire after their offering, there was still an immediate meaning attached to the invitation. Notwithstanding the omission of this direction in 1552 the people still preserved the custom of remaining in the quire in the seventeenth century. Andrews and Wren understood DRAW NEAR in the immediate sense and would have abolished it had they not been opposed by others mistaking the original sense

OF YOUR SINS to Almighty God, AND be IN LOVE AND CHARITY WITH YOUR NEIGHBOURS, AND INTEND TO LEAD A NEW LIFE, FOLLOWING THE COMMANDMENTS OF GOD, AND WALKING FROM HENCEFORTH IN HIS HOLY WAYS : DRAW NEAR <sup>with faith</sup> ^ AND TAKE THIS HOLY SACRAMENT TO YOUR COMFORT ; ^ MAKE YOUR HUMBLE CONFESSION TO ALMIGHTY GOD, and to his holy church here gathered together in his name, MEEKLY KNEELING UPON YOUR KNEES.

THEN SHALL THIS GENERAL CONFESSION BE MADE, IN THE NAME OF ALL THOSE THAT ARE MINDED TO RECEIVE THE HOLY COMMUNION, either by one of them, or else BY ONE OF THE MINISTERS, or by the Priest *both he and all the people* himself, all ^ KNEELING HUMBLY UPON THEIR KNEES, *, and saying,*

ALMIGHTY GOD, FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, MAKER OF ALL THINGS, JUDGE OF ALL MEN, *acknowledge* WE *knowledge* AND BEWAIL OUR MANIFOLD SINS AND

---

in the same way, who declared that it was at this time the communicants were intended to enter the quire. Perhaps for this reason the rubric before the exhortation provided in 1662 that the communicants be CONVENIENTLY PLACED. The expression WITH FAITH, which Sancroft finally had reduced from the full expression, 'with a true heart in full assurance of faith' (Heb. x. 22), as it appeared in the Durham Book, the Book Annexed, and the Fair Copy (see Introduction, p. 34), removed all question in 1662 of what was meant by DRAW NEAR.

*In the Confession.*—In 1552 the phrase CONFESSION TO ALMIGHTY GOD, AND TO HIS HOLY CHURCH was changed to CONFESSION TO ALMIGHTY GOD, BEFORE THIS CONGREGATION. The corporate idea of the Church confessing to itself is rather confused by

WICKEDNESS, WHICH WE FROM TIME TO TIME, MOST GRIEVOUSLY HAVE COMMITTED, BY THOUGHT, WORD AND DEED, AGAINST THY DIVINE MAJESTY, PROVOKING MOST JUSTLY THY WRATH AND INDIGNATION AGAINST US : WE DO EARNESTLY REPENT, AND ARE HEARTILY SORRY FOR THESE OUR MISDOINGS : THE REMEMBRANCE OF THEM IS GRIEVOUS UNTO US, THE BURDEN OF THEM IS INTOLERABLE : HAVE MERCY UPON US, HAVE MERCY UPON US, MOST MERCIFUL FATHER, FOR THY SON OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST'S SAKE, FORGIVE US ALL THAT IS PAST, AND GRANT THAT WE MAY EVER HEREAFTER SERVE AND PLEASE THEE IN NEWNESS OF LIFE, TO THE HONOUR AND GLORY OF THY NAME : THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR

*Amen.*

LORD.

*(or the Bishop, being present,)*

THEN SHALL THE PRIEST ^ STAND UP, AND TURN-

*pronounce this absolution.*

ING HIMSELF TO THE PEOPLE, say thus,

ALMIGHTY GOD, OUR HEAVENLY FATHER, WHO OF

saying it confesses ' before ' itself. CONGREGATION was probably inserted to make clear the large meaning of Church, not only the Ministry. Although there may have been some intention of striking at the idea of intercession of saints the double reference to God and the Church is continued. We might say the reformers individualized this corporate confession by the change, but there was not the hostility to Confession as we know it to-day. The 1661 revisers omitted the phrase entirely and with the Bishops' concession made the addition to the following rubric that the people should join the minister in saying the Confession.

*Archaic Words.*—In 1661 the word ACKNOWLEDGE in the Confession, which had appeared in the 1637 Scottish Book, took the place of the obsolete verb, KNOWLEDGE. The ' removal of archaisms ', which is one of the purposes set forth in the 1662 Preface, effected the change of IS for BE, and, with certain exceptions, WHO for WHICH.

*The Absolution.*—The rubric for Absolution in 1552 inserted the alternative of the Bishop's pronouncing it, and in 1661 it is

HIS GREAT MERCY, HATH PROMISED FORGIVENESS

that

OF SINS TO ALL THEM, which WITH HEARTY REPEN-  
TANCE AND TRUE FAITH TURN UNTO HIM : HAVE  
MERCY UPON YOU, PARDON AND DELIVER YOU FROM  
ALL YOUR SINS, CONFIRM AND STRENGTHEN YOU IN  
ALL GOODNESS ; AND BRING YOU TO EVERLASTING  
LIFE ; THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD. AMEN.

THEN SHALL THE PRIEST also SAY,

HEAR WHAT COMFORTABLE WORDS OUR SAVIOUR

*unto*

CHRIST SAITH, to ALL THAT TRULY TURN TO HIM.

COME UNTO ME ALL THAT TRAVAIL, AND *are* be HEAVY

*will*

*St. Matth. xi. 28.*

LADEN, AND I shall REFRESH YOU. ^ SO GOD LOVED  
THE WORLD THAT HE GAVE HIS ONLY BEGOTTEN  
SON, TO THE END THAT ALL THAT BELIEVE IN HIM,

*life. St. John iii. 16.*

SHOULD NOT PERISH, BUT HAVE life EVERLASTING ^ .

HEAR ALSO WHAT SAINT PAUL SAITH. THIS IS  
A TRUE SAYING, AND WORTHY OF ALL MEN TO BE

*Jesus*

*the*

RECEIVED, THAT Jesus CHRIST ^ CAME INTO this

*I Tim. i. 15.*

WORLD TO SAVE SINNERS. ^

HEAR ALSO WHAT SAINT JOHN SAITH. IF ANY MAN

definitely called ABSOLUTION. Whereas the Absolution and the  
Confession find counterparts in the Sarum Use they were there  
made privately before the Service.

*The Comfortable Words.*—The *Necessary Doctrine*, f. I. i, provides  
that ‘ the penitent may desire to hear of the minister, the com-  
fortable words of remission of sins ’. This use of the comfortable  
words of the New Testament is employed by Hermann of Cologne ;  
and except for the insertion of biblical references in 1662 there  
has been practically no change since 1548.

SIN, WE HAVE AN ADVOCATE WITH THE FATHER,  
JESUS CHRIST THE RIGHTEOUS, AND HE IS THE

*I St. John ii. 1.*

PROPITIATION FOR OUR SINS.

[*The Sanctus and the Prefaces are inserted here between the Comfortable Words and the Prayer of Humble Access, as noted above.*]

*kneeling down at the Lord's Table,*  
THEN SHALL THE PRIEST, turning him to God's board,  
kneel down, and SAY IN THE NAME OF ALL THEM, THAT  
SHALL RECEIVE THE COMMUNION, THIS PRAYER  
FOLLOWING.

WE DO NOT PRESUME TO COME TO THIS THY TABLE  
(O MERCIFUL LORD) TRUSTING IN OUR OWN RIGHT-  
EOUSNESS, BUT IN THY MANIFOLD AND GREAT  
MERCIES. WE <sup>are</sup> be NOT WORTHY SO MUCH AS TO  
GATHER UP THE CRUMBS UNDER THY TABLE : BUT  
THOU ART THE SAME LORD WHOSE PROPERTY IS  
ALWAYS TO HAVE MERCY : GRANT US THEREFORE  
(GRACIOUS LORD) SO TO EAT THE FLESH OF THY  
DEAR SON JESUS CHRIST, AND TO DRINK HIS BLOOD  
in these holy Mysteries, that we may continually dwell in  
him, and he in us, THAT OUR SINFUL BODIES MAY BE

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*Rubric on Kneeling.*—The direction for kneeling before the Sacrament in the rubric for the Prayer of Humble Access was an innovation. Gardiner (Introduction, p. 7), using this as a defence, says, 'As touching the adoration of Christ's flesh in the Sacrament . . . (it) is in my judgement well set forth in the book of Common Prayer, where the Priest is ordered to kneel and make a prayer of his own, and in the name of all that shall communicate confessing therein that is prepared there' (12/cxlv). When this Prayer of Access was placed before the Consecration in 1552 there could no longer be a question of the adoration of the deity in the Elements.



MADE CLEAN BY HIS BODY, AND OUR SOULS WASHED

*, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us*  
THROUGH HIS MOST PRECIOUS BLOOD  $\wedge$  . AMEN.

[*The Prayer of Consecration, as corrected above, is inserted here.*]

*Minister*

THEN SHALL THE priest FIRST RECEIVE THE COM-

*then proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests,  
and Deacons, in like manner,*

MUNION IN BOTH KINDS HIMSELF, AND  $\wedge$  next

deliver it to other Ministers, (IF ANY BE there PRESENT,

that they may be ready to help the chief Minister,) AND

*that also in order, into their hands, all meekly kneeling.*

AFTER  $\wedge$  TO THE PEOPLE

*Bread to any one*

AND WHEN HE DELIVERETH THE Sacrament of the

body of Christ, HE SHALL SAY to every one these words :

THE BODY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST WHICH  
WAS GIVEN FOR THEE, PRESERVE THY BODY AND

*Take and eat this in*

SOUL UNTO EVERLASTING LIFE.

*remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy  
heart by faith with thanksgiving.*

*Contents of the Prayer of Access.*—The contents of the prayer comes from the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. James, from St. Mark vii. 28 and St. John vi. 56, from St. Thomas Aquinas and from the Horologion. Bucer's advice that this prayer should remain as it was did not prevent the 1552 reformers removing the reference to HOLY MYSTERIES.

*Direction for Order of the Administration.*—The rubric before Communion in 1552 specified the administration to the people kneeling. The Elements, which in the earlier book were to be administered in both kinds, were in 1552 called BREAD and CUP rather than SACRAMENTS OF THE BODY OF CHRIST AND OF THE BLOOD. The change of the term PRIEST to MINISTER was probably thought appropriate to one who is about to administer the Sacrament.

*that delivereth the Cup to any one*

AND THE MINISTER delivering the Sacrament of the Blood, and giving every one to drink once and no more, SHALL SAY,

THE BLOOD OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST WHICH WAS SHED FOR THEE, PRESERVE THY BODY AND

*Drink this in remem-*  
SOUL UNTO EVERLASTING LIFE.

*brance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.*

If there be a Deacon or other Priest, then shall he follow with the Chalice : and as the Priest ministereth the Sacrament of the Body, so shall he (for more expedition) minister the Sacrament of the Blood, in form before written.

*If the consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent before all have*

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*Direction for the Manner of Administering.*—' That the minister repeat to every communicant severally ', reads the instruction in ' Wren's Particular orders xv ' (History, p. 32), ' all the words, that are appointed to be said at the distribution of the holy sacrament ' (Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* ii. 205). The phrase TO ANY ONE, which was proposed in the Durham Book (History, p. 34), made it impossible to understand the rubric as allowing the form of administration to be recited once for a number of communicants.

*The Sentences of Administration.*—The 1549 Sentences of Administration are translated from the following Latin of the Sarum and German of Hermann : CORPUS DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI DER FÜR DICH GEgeben IST CUSTODIAT CORPUS TUUM ET ANIMAM TUAM IN VITAM AETERNAM. And (SANGUIS) DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI DAS FÜR DEINE SÜNDE VERGOSSEN IST CUSTODIAT CORPUS TUUM ET ANIMAM TUAM IN VITAM AETERNAM. In 1552 these were entirely omitted, and it is difficult to find the source of the two sentences which were substituted, either in tradition or in the New Testament. The rather similar sentences in Laski's *Forma ac ratio*, pp. 254 sq. (History, p. 6)—ACCIPITE, EDITE, (BIBITE) ET MEMINERITIS CORPUS (SANGUINEM) DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI PRO NOBIS IN MORTEM TRADITUM (FUSUM) ESSE IN CRUCIS PATIBULO, AD REMISSIONEM OMNIUM PECCATORUM NOSTRORUM—either directly or indirectly influenced the 1552 words of administration.

*Direction for the Further Consecration.*—In 1604, when no rubrical direction had been noted in the Service since the 1548 Order, the 21st Canon enacted that ' no bread and wine newly

*communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more according to the Form before prescribed ; beginning at (Our Saviour Christ in the same night, &c.) for the blessing of the Bread ; and at (Likewise after Supper, &c.) for the blessing of the Cup. When all have communicated, the Minister shall return to the Lord's Table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated Elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth.*

**[Here follows the Lord's Prayer, as before noted.]**

In the Communion time the Clerks shall sing,

ii. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world : have mercy upon us. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world ; grant us thy peace.

Beginning as soon as the Priest doth receive the holy Communion, and when the Communion is ended, then shall the Clerks sing the post-Communion.

Sentences of holy scripture, to be said or sung every day one, after the holy Communion, called the post-Communion.

If any man will follow me, .....Matth. xvi.

Whosoever shall endure unto the end,.....Mar. xiii.

Praised be the Lord God of Israel, .....Luc. i.

Happy are those servants, .....Luc. xii.

brought shall be used, but first the words of institution shall be rehearsed, when the said bread and wine be present upon the communion table' (12/ccxx). In the 1637 Book of Scotland a rubric evidently suggested by the similar rubric in the 1548 Order of Communion, influenced the 1661 compilers to insert the directions for further consecration.

*The Agnus Dei.*—The translation of AGNUS DEI : QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI, although omitted from the texts after 1549, has in recent years become usual to sing 'in the Communion time' in some churches.

*The Post-Communion Sentences.*—The Agnus Dei was originally sung at the time of the ceremony of the breaking of the Bread, known as the Fraction. When the Fraction became a matter of a second or so, the Agnus Dei continued over into the time of

- Be ye ready, for the Son of man will come. . . . Luc. xii.  
 The servant that knoweth his master's will . . . . Luc. xii.  
 The hour cometh, and now is, . . . . . John iv.  
 Behold, thou art made whole, . . . . . John v.  
 If ye shall continue in my word . . . . . John viii.  
 While ye have light. . . . . John xii.  
 He that hath my commandments . . . . . John xiv.  
 If any man love me. . . . . John xiv.  
 If ye shall abide in me . . . . . John xv.  
 Herein is my Father glorified. . . . . John xv.  
 This is my commandment . . . . . John xv.  
 If God be on our side, . . . . . Roma. viii.  
 Who shall lay anything to the charge. . . . . Roma. viii.  
 The night is past, and the day is at hand. . . . . Roma. xiii.  
 Christ Jesus is made of God . . . . . I Corin. i.  
 Know ye not that ye are the temple of God . . . . I Corin. iii.  
 Ye are dearly bought . . . . . I Corin. vi.  
 Be ye followers of God. . . . . Ephes. v.

*After shall be said as followeth.*

Then the Priest shall give thanks to God, in the name of all them that have communicated, turning him first to the people, and saying,

The Lord be with you.

The Answer. And with thy spirit.

The Priest. Let us pray.

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Communion. This pushed the Sentences on to the place after the Communion which was originally occupied by the Post-Communion Prayer, and by means of these Sentences separated the Prayer from the Communion. Thus the Sentences are called in the 1549 rubric, Post-Communion.

*Omissions after the Communion.*—At the same time, in 1552, when the Post-Communion Sentences were dropped from the text the translation of the DOMINUS VOBISCUM—ET CUM SPIRITU TUO—OREMUS were also dropped.

[*The Prayer of Acceptance, as noted above after the Prayer of Consecration and before the Lord's Prayer, is used here as an alternative to the following Prayer.*]

*Or this*

ALMIGHTY AND EVERLIVING GOD, WE MOST  
*dost*  
 HEARTILY THANK THEE, FOR THAT THOU hast  
*vouchsafe who have duly received*  
 vouchsafed TO FEED US ^ in THESE HOLY MYSTERIES,  
 WITH THE SPIRITUAL FOOD OF THE MOST PRECIOUS  
 BODY AND BLOOD OF THY SON OUR SAVIOUR JESUS  
*dost assure thereby*  
 CHRIST, AND hast assured US (duly receiving the same) ^  
*towards*  
 OF THY FAVOUR AND GOODNESS toward US ; AND THAT  
*are the*  
 WE be VERY MEMBERS INCORPORATE IN thy MYSTICAL  
*of thy Son*  
 BODY ^ WHICH IS THE BLESSED COMPANY OF ALL  
*are also*  
 FAITHFUL PEOPLE ; AND ^ HEIRS THROUGH HOPE  
 OF THY EVERLASTING KINGDOM, BY THE MERITS OF  
 THE MOST PRECIOUS DEATH AND PASSION OF THY  
*And*  
 DEAR SON. ^ WE therefore MOST HUMBLY BESEECH  
 THEE, O HEAVENLY FATHER, SO TO ASSIST US WITH

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*Prayers of Acceptance and of Thanksgiving.*—By delaying the Prayer of Acceptance till after the Communion the possibility of certain doctrinal misunderstanding had been avoided. At the time of this change, in 1552, it was made an alternative with a prayer entirely unlike in contents but far more appropriate in expressing a feeling of thanks for the Sacrament just received. This Prayer of Thanksgiving for the spiritual food of the Communion and the union with God accorded us thereby, makes the petition for assistance to be able to do all the 'good works, which God ordained that we should walk in' (Eph. ii. 10). The one

THY GRACE, THAT WE MAY CONTINUE IN THAT HOLY FELLOWSHIP, AND DO ALL SUCH GOOD WORKS AS THOU HAST PREPARED FOR US TO WALK IN : THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD, TO WHOM WITH THEE AND THE HOLY GHOST, BE ALL HONOUR AND

*Amen.*

GLORY, WORLD WITHOUT END.

[*The Gloria in Excelsis is here inserted as noted just after the Introit at the beginning.*]

*(or Bishop if he be present)*

THEN THE PRIEST (turning him to the people) SHALL LET THEM DEPART WITH THIS BLESSING.

THE PEACE OF GOD (WHICH PASSETH ALL UNDERSTANDING) KEEP YOUR HEARTS AND MINDS IN THE KNOWLEDGE AND LOVE OF GOD, AND OF HIS SON JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD : AND THE BLESSING OF GOD ALMIGHTY, THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY GHOST, BE AMONGST YOU AND REMAIN WITH

*always.*

YOU *always.*

Then the people shall answer, AMEN.

Where there are no clerks, there the Priest shall say all things appointed here for them to sing.

change of significance emphasizes the continuance of the Communion. Those who have duly received the holy Communion are still being fed with its blessing.

*Gloria in Excelsis.*—St. Matthew's account of the Last Supper, xxvi. 17-31, relates that 'when they had sung a hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives'. This was probably the reason the 1552 reformers placed the GLORIA IN EXCELSIS here after the Communion.

*The Blessing.*—The closing benediction of 1548, which found its sources in the epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul—in Phil. iv. 7) 'the peace of God (which passeth all understanding) keep your hearts and minds . . .' and (in 2 Pet. i. 2) 'peace be multiplied through the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ our Lord'—

When the holy Communion is celebrated on the workday, or in private houses : Then may be omitted, the Gloria in excelsis, the Creed, the Homily, and the Exhortation, beginning Dearly beloved, &c.

COLLECTS TO BE SAID AFTER THE OFFERTORY, WHEN

*or more ;*

THERE IS NO COMMUNION, EVERY SUCH DAY ONE  $\wedge$

*and the same may be said also, as often as occasion shall serve, after the Collects either of Morning or Evening Prayer, Communion, or Litany, by the discretion of the Minister.*

*Jesus*

ASSIST US MERCIFULLY, . . . THROUGH  $\wedge$

CHRIST OUR LORD. . . . . AMEN.

*everlasting*

O ALMIGHTY LORD AND everliving GOD, . . . . AMEN.

GRANT WE BESEECH THEE, . . . . . AMEN.

PREVENT US, O LORD, . . . . . AMEN.

ALMIGHTY GOD, THE FOUNTAIN OF ALL

WISDOM, . . . . . AMEN.

*who*

ALMIGHTY GOD, which HAST PROMISED TO

HEAR . . . . . AMEN.

For rain.

O God, heavenly Father, which by thy Son . . . Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

For fair weather.

O Lord God, which for the sin of man, . . . Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

*Upon the Sundays and other Holy-days (if there be no Com-*

*Upon Wednesdays and Fridays, the English Litany shall be*

was completed by the words of the regular Latin benediction : BENEDICTIO DEI OMNIPOTENTIS PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI DESCENDAT SUPER VOS ET MANEAT SEMPER.

*Collects for the Weather.*—The two prayers FOR RAIN and FOR

*munion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, said or sung in all places after such form as is appointed by until the end of the general Prayer (For the whole state of the king's majesty's Injunctions : Or as is or shall be otherwise appointed by his highness. And though there be none more of these Collects last before rehearsed, concluding with to communicate with the Priest, yet these days (after the the Blessing.*

Litany ended) the Priest shall put upon him a plain albe or surplice, with a cope, and say all things at the Altar (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper,) until after the offertory. And then shall add one or two of the Collects aforewritten, as occasion shall serve, by his discretion. And then turning him to the people shall let them depart with the accustomed blessing. And the same order shall be used all other days, whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray in the church, and none disposed to communicate with the Priest. Likewise in Chapels annexed, and all other

*And*  
 places, ^ THERE SHALL BE NO CELEBRATION OF  
 THE LORD'S SUPPER, EXCEPT THERE BE ^ *a convenient number*  
 ^ *some*  
 ^ *, according to his discretion.*  
 TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE PRIEST ^ .

*And if there be not above twenty persons in the Parish of discretion to receive the Communion ; yet there shall be no Communion, except four (or three at the least) communicate with the Priest.*

FAIR WEATHER which complete the list of Collects were omitted here in 1552 and placed at the end of the Litany.

*Instructions regarding the requisite Number of Communicants.*—The TABLE PRAYERS OF HALF-MASS, to which Bucer objected, were in 1552 ordered to be said through the ' General Prayer '



And in such Chapels annexed where the people hath not been accustomed to pay any holy bread, there they must either make some charitable provision for the bearing of the charges of the Communion, or else (for receiving of the same) resort to their parish church.

[*The Clause, 'And in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches,' is placed here.*]

*And to take away*

For avoiding of  $\wedge$  ALL matters and OCCASION OF  $\wedge$ , *and superstition which any person hath or might have* DISSENSION  $\wedge$ , it is meet that the bread prepared for the *concerning the Bread and Wine, it shall suffice that the Bread* Communion be made, through all this realm, after one sort *be such as is usual to be eaten ; but the best and purest Wheat* and fashion : that is to say, unleavened, and round, as it was *Bread that conveniently may be gotten.*

afore, but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces ; and every one shall be divided in two pieces, at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister,

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for the Church upon holy days. To this order of the Service, which was used when there was no Communion, a direction for THE BLESSING is added in 1661. More detailed instruction was set down in 1552 as to the number of the communicants required for a Service.

*Services in the Cathedrals, &c.*—The clause AND IN CATHEDRAL AND COLLEGIATE CHURCHES is brought forward in 1552.

*The Elements before and after the Communion.*—THAT THE BREAD BE SUCH, AS IS USUAL TO BE EATEN AT THE TABLE, WITH OTHER MEATS, which is directed in 1552, follows Bucer's suggestion (*Censura*, iii. 459), and if this idea was carried into the disposal of the Elements, as seems probable, it may have applied to those which had been consecrated (12/clxii). But this provision that IF ANY OF THE BREAD OR WINE REMAIN THE CURATE SHALL HAVE IT TO HIS OWN USE is made to apply definitely to that which is UNCONSECRATED, and further provision is made for the consecrated Elements that remain. The Scottish Book of 1637 con-

and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ.

*And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated, the Curate shall have it to his own use : but if any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the Church, but the Priest and such other of the Communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink the same.*

And forasmuch as the Pastors and Curates within this realm shall continually find at their costs and charges in their cures

*The*  
sufficient  $\wedge$  BREAD AND WINE FOR THE holy COM-  
*shall be provided by the Curate and the Church-wardens*  
MUNION  $\wedge$  (as oft as their Parishioners shall be disposed  
*at the charges of the Parish.*

for their spiritual comfort to receive the same) it is therefore ordered, that in recompense of such costs and charges, the Parishioners of every Parish shall offer every Sunday, at the time of the Offertory, the just valour and price of the holy loaf (with all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with the same) to the use of their Pastors and Curates, and that in such order and course, as they were wont to find and pay the said holy loaf.

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tributed this further provision in 1661. This addition to the rubric forbade communicating the sick from the altar on Mass days, a custom which had been approved by Bucer and opposed by Martyr (History, p. 7). The fashion of the bread was changed in 1552 owing to Gardiner's contention that 'in the book of common prayer it is truly said, in each part of the bread consecrate and broken to be Christ's whole body' (History, p. 7). And this is not referred to in the altered rubric.

*Cost of the Bread and Wine.*—The cost of the Bread and Wine was met in a simpler way by the 1552 rubric directing it to be charged to the Parish.

Also that the receiving of the Sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ, may be most agreeable to the institution thereof, and to the usage of the primitive Church :

*And*

Λ IN all CATHEDRAL AND COLLEGIATE CHURCHES and Colleges, where there are many Priests and Deacons, they

Λ there shall always some communicate with the Priest shall all receive the Communion with the Priest every Sunday that ministereth. And that the same may be observed every- at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary. where abroad in the country : Some one at the least of that house in every parish, to whom by course, after the ordinance herein made, it appertaineth to offer for the charges of the Communion, or some other whom they shall provide to offer for them, shall receive the holy Communion with the priest: the which may be the better done, for that they know before, when their course cometh, and may therefore dispose themselves to the worthy receiving of the Sacrament. And with him or them who doth so offer the charges of the Communion, all other, who be then Godly disposed thereunto, shall likewise receive the Communion. And by this means the Minister having always some to communicate with him, may accordingly solemnise so high and holy mysteries, with all the suffrages and due order appointed for the same. And the Priest on the week day shall forbear to celebrate the Communion, except he have some that will communicate with him. *And note, that every Parishioner shall communicate at least* Furthermore, every man and woman to be bound to hear and

*Substitutes for the Communion.*—The alternative, OR SOME OTHER WHOM THEY SHALL PROVIDE TO OFFER FOR THEM, permitted the representative of a household to have a substitute offer and communicate for him. This Bucer objected to. It was left out of the 1552 text.

*Number of Communions Requisite.*—The 1552 rubric requires

*three times in the year, of which Easter to be one. And yearly be at the divine service, in the Parish church where they be at Easter every Parishioner shall reckon with the Parson, resident, and there with devout prayer, or Godly silence and Vicar, or Curate, or his or their Deputy or Deputies; and meditation, to occupy themselves. There to pay their duties, pay to them or him all Ecclesiastical Duties accustomedly due to communicate once in the year at the least, and there to then and at that time to be paid.*

receive and take all other Sacraments and rites, in this book appointed. And whosoever willingly, upon no just cause, doth absent themselves, or doth ungodly in the Parish church occupy themselves: upon proof thereof, by the Ecclesiastical laws of the Realm, to be excommunicate, or suffer other punishment, as shall to the Ecclesiastical judge (according to his discretion) seem convenient.

*After the Divine Service ended, the money given at the Offertory shall be disposed of to such pious and charitable uses, as the Minister and Church-wardens shall think fit. Wherein if they disagree, it shall be disposed of as the Ordinary shall appoint.*

*Whereas it is ordained in this Office for the Administration*

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THAT EVERY PARISHIONER SHALL COMMUNICATE AT LEAST THREE TIMES IN THE YEAR, instead of the one time that the former book had required.

'*Divine Service.*'—The expression DIVINE SERVICE is used in a general sense in the rubric for the disposal of alms which was inserted in 1661. At the same time it was used in this sense in the rubric just before the sermon is announced, and in 1549 similar meaning was given the expression in the rubric above the one in question. The rubric itself comes, possibly through the Exceptions of the Ministers, from the Scottish Book of 1637, and extends the use of the offering to something beyond merely alms.

*Instruction to kneel at Communion, the Black Rubric.*—Hooper (History, p. 4), in the sixth of his Sermons upon Jonas, in Lent 1550, urged that the Sacrament should be received in a sitting

And although it be read in ancient writers, that the people, of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants should receive many years past, received at the Priest's hands, the Sacrament the same kneeling; (which order is well meant, for a signification of the body of Christ in their own hands, and no Communion of our humble and grateful acknowledgement of the benefits mandment of Christ to the contrary: Yet forasmuch as they of Christ therein given to all worthy Receivers, and for the many times conveyed the same secretly away, kept it with avoiding of such profanation and disorder in the holy Communion, and diversely abused it to superstition and wickedness: lest any such thing hereafter should be attempted, and that should by any persons, either out of ignorance and infirmity, or an uniformity might be used throughout the whole realm, out of malice and obstinacy, be misconstrued and depraved; it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the

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posture rather than kneeling. Also Laski's (History, p. 6) protests against kneeling at Communion were not restrained. But chief cause for the insertion of a rubric requiring communicants to kneel was the Scots reformer. Mr. Brightman has given the account so clearly and concisely that it seems best to quote from him at length. 'The firebrand John Knox (c. 1505-1572) in his ministrations at Berwick-on-Tweed (1549-1550) had substituted sitting for kneeling; and, after his appointment as royal chaplain (1551), he preached a sermon before the King and the Council in 1552 "in which he inveighed with great freedom against kneeling", and this gave rise to an agitation and "disputes" "among the bishops" (Original Letters, p. 591). In consequence the Council sent a letter to Grafton on Sept. 26 ordering him to refrain from "uttering" copies of the revised book "until certain faults" were "corrected" (Dixon, History of the Church of England, iii. 476); and also required Cranmer, "calling to" him "the bishop of London and some other learned men, as Mr. Peter Martyr or such like", "to expend and weigh the" "prescription" of the revised book, which (unlike that of 1549, which took kneeling for granted) directed kneeling at communion. Cranmer in his reply (Oct. 7) refused to reconsider what had been "weighed" by

*It is hereby declared. That thereby no adoration is intended, Sacrament of Christ's body in their mouths, at the Priest's or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine hand.*

*there bodily received, or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood. For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored ; (for that were Idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians ;) and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here ; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one.*

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himself and the others, and also by "a great many bishops and others of the best learned within this realm and appointed for that purpose, and had been read and approved by the whole state of the realm in the High Court of Parliament with the King's Majesty his royal assent" (State Papers of Edw. VI : domestic xv no. 15 : J. T. Tomlinson, *The Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies*, p. 256) and proceeded to argue against the contention of the innovators on its merits. The upshot was that on Oct. 27 the Lord Chancellor, Goodrich bishop of Ely, was ordered by the Council to have "joined unto the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth a certain declaration signed by the King's Majesty", "touching the kneeling at the receiving of the Communion" (Dixon, iii. 483.)

This declaration on kneeling, which was omitted at the time of the 1559 changes, was replaced, owing to the Exceptions of the Ministers, in 1661 (12/ccviii).

# THE LITURGY OF THE HOLY COMMUNION IN THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

THE Liturgy in the English language is three times introduced into Scotland : shortly after its translation from the Latin, again at the time of its arbitrary establishment by Charles I, and a third time during the reign of Queen Anne, when the English Use gradually came to be accepted. Between these times the use of the English text was practically abandoned.

In the times when the efforts of Columba and his fellow saints were nurturing the gentle message of Christ among the rough people of ancient Scotland, the monasteries were, on Sundays and festivals and on other days appointed by the abbots, the scenes of regular Celebrations of the Holy Communion. The Sarum form of the Communion Liturgy, which had been adopted by one church after another in England, had worked its way north till finally, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, secured the publication of the Latin Breviary. This led to a national version of the Sarum Liturgy.<sup>1</sup> The Latin of the Sarum continued in use until the middle of the sixteenth century, when, in face of the Catholic alliance with France, agitation for an English text, &c., sprang up.

<sup>1</sup> 25/27.

Concerning the Castle of St. Andrews, into which John Knox, probably the most influential of Scots reformers, 'lap' in the Easter of 1547, and which, because of Knox and a number of like-minded agitators who had entrenched themselves there, was being besieged by the French, Mr. Hume Brown writes, 'All those of the castle . . . openly professed, by the participation of the Lord's Table, in the same purity that it is now administered in the churches of Scotland'. But Keith, another chronicler of the times, further implies that the ceremony of 'fencing the tables' was overlooked, because he says the 'Castilians ran into all the vices which idle persons are subject to'. The same hostility was not felt in countries where the Reformation had a stronger hold. And the next place in which we find Knox is the English town of Berwick, using 'a form of Service after the model of the most advanced Swiss reformers' with the full license of Somerset and Edward VI.<sup>1</sup>

In 1551, Knox, while at Newcastle, figured in the editing of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. To consider Knox by himself one would be unduly impressed with an inconsiderate fanaticism. But when we consider that the Reformers 'held that to teach heresy, to say mass, and even to celebrate the sacraments in what they considered an irregular manner, were crimes worthy of death',<sup>2</sup> we can understand the arbitrary arguments which Knox gave expression to in a sermon a little earlier at Newcastle against the use of the Mass. But his conviction did not stop in the belief that rites and

<sup>1</sup> 22/25.

<sup>2</sup> 25/32.



ceremonies failed as media between God and man, but he held them to be barriers. The rites of Baptism and the Holy Communion, however, he made exceptions. In the same year he became Royal Chaplain. His influence in the compilation of the English Prayer Book, however, would seem to be confined to the insertion of a rubric to prevent the spread of his own objection against the custom of kneeling at the reception of the Communion. Yet even with the insertion of this 'Black Rubric' for a time his 'good opinion' of the Book was secured. But in his native land the reform had progressed less rapidly. For in 1552 the Scottish Catechism sanctioned by the Council explains the 'seven sacraments' in the spirit of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

So much were the Scots authorities offended at Knox's lectures and celebrations of the Communion after the fashion of the Genevan Reformers that he was brought into legal difficulties in May 1556.<sup>1</sup> Before leaving Scotland for the Continent, however, he had succeeded in delivering a severe blow to the use of the old church services. And from 1557 on, the Prayer Book in English as it had appeared in England five years before was in partial use. At Frankfort-on-Maine, whither Knox fled, there was compiled, partly with his assistance, in 1556, a Service Book which came later to form the basis of the Book supplanting the English 1552 Book in Scotland. In Germany another controversy, this time over the use of the English Prayer Book, caused Knox to flee to Geneva. There he came under the influence of that Calvin whose ideas seemed so foreign to

<sup>1</sup> 22/30.

England and whose utterances suggested an ignorance of the English people.

The old régime gave way before the Reformation until in Scotland the tables were turned. Restrictions were issued in 1559 against the administration of the Sacraments. Further efforts were made by private individuals. On May 11, after a sermon at Perth 'vehement against idolatry', the Communion was accompanied by an incident comparable with the Jenny Geddes riot in Edinburgh seventy-eight years later. For while the priest was performing Mass 'a young boy' called out that it was intolerable, and in retaliation for the priest's striking him the boy threw a stone at the 'glorious tabernacle that stood on the high altar'.<sup>1</sup> This marks the beginning of stricter intolerance. Yet there were still those who held out for the traditions of the Latin Service. All this time Mary of Guise would not hear the preachers and insisted on her Mass. The exercise of such a 'liberty of conscience' as the Reformers sought for themselves, they counted on the Regina's part 'manifest idolatry'.<sup>2</sup> Even when she was on her death-bed a preacher was sent to call her to account because of her 'superstition'. This dominating spirit of reform soon crystalized into a set form.

In 1560 came the Confession of Faith, which was only superseded by the Westminster Confession eighty-seven years later. The Reforming Parliament sanctioned it. Liturgical ceremonies 'are but temporal', it argued, 'so may and ought they to be changed, when they rather foster superstition than

<sup>1</sup> 22/50.

<sup>2</sup> 22/57.

that they edify the Kirk using the same'. In the 'notes' the right administration of the Sacraments is set forth with more conservative limitation, and the Lord's Supper is insisted upon as more than 'naked and bare signs'.<sup>1</sup> 'The article as to the Sacrament', Andrew Lang goes as far as to say, 'bears the impress of a lofty mysticism.'<sup>2</sup>

In this same year the Book of Common Order, which was authorized by the General Assembly four years later, had already begun to supplant the English Prayer Book in Scotland. It was substantially the same as the book which Knox had taken largely from 'La forme des prières' during his stay with Calvin in Geneva. There were simple guides for the administration of the Lord's Supper. Blessing was asked for the communicants, but not for the Elements. While the congregation remained in their seats and passed the Elements from one to another, parts of the Bible were read. And in August of 1560 the penalties of confiscation of goods, banishment, or even death, threatened those who said Mass in the old way, while the administration was allowed only to those who had been specially licensed. Along with the general disapprobation Knox's opinion of the English Prayer Book changed and the book fell out of use. The substitute, however, seemed to require further definition. It was the authors of the Book of Common Order who further set forth their convictions in the Confession. This statement of belief, although largely scoffed at, was signed by many of the nobles in 1561. It prescribed sitting at the reception of the Communion, con-

<sup>1</sup> 25/48.

<sup>2</sup> 22/77.

demned the Communion in one kind, and provided for a quarterly celebration of the Communion.<sup>1</sup>

Mary Queen of Scots' defiant attitude toward the innovators and her determination to have her own Mass at Holyrood—one celebration of which Knox dreaded more than 10,000 armed enemies—rather prevented any such compromise as Queen Elizabeth had effected for the Liturgy in England. Ecclesiastical authority seemed to fail in its responsibility. In 1572 the unfortunate system of 'tulchan' bishops was instituted, to the deterioration of the episcopacy, who might be expected to favour the old Liturgy. This slackening in oversight resulted in the carelessness of many ministers. And finally the Assembly of 1596, in hope of instilling some care and decency, 'took order against ministers'.<sup>2</sup> A more general liturgical satisfaction, together with other causes, brought nearer the desired order.

After a Scottish Liturgy had become an accomplished fact it was the boast of many that the original suggestion had come from the Assembly of their Church at Burntisland in 1601. In truth there seems to have been an impulse to make some revision in the Book of Common Order at that time. This impulse would naturally be quickened by the restoration of the Episcopacy in 1610. The fulfilment of this need was accomplished in 1616, when the Assembly at Aberdeen decreed, 'that a liturgy be made, and form of divine service, which shall be read in every church in common prayer, and before preaching, every Sabbath.'<sup>3</sup> This was important as an assent to a fixed uniform rite. But the results

<sup>1</sup> 25/51.

<sup>2</sup> 25/69.

<sup>3</sup> 21/14.

of the Assembly were of little definite value. Four ministers were delegated 'to revise the Book of Common Prayers contained in the Psalm Book', for the Book of Common Order popularly went under this title, and there the matter dropped.<sup>1</sup>

The question of regulations in connexion with the Service came up again when the Five Articles of Perth, which had been refused by the Assembly of Aberdeen in 1617, were in the following year carried with opposition. They were issued by King James in an arbitrary way and were often disobeyed. The first Article concerns us here. 'Seeing we are commanded by God Himself, that, when we come to worship him, we fall down and kneel before the Lord Our Maker, and considering with all that there is no part of divine worship more heavenly and spiritual than is the receiving of the blessed body and blood of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, like as the most humble and reverent gesture of our body in our meditation and the lifting up of our hearts best becometh so divine and sacred an action ; therefore, notwithstanding that our church hath used since the reformation of religion to celebrate the holy communion to the people sitting, by reason of the great abuse of kneeling used in the idolatrous worship of the sacrament of the Papists, yet seeing all memory of bypast superstitions is past, in reverence of God, and in due reverence of so divine a mystery, and in remembrance of so mystical an union as we are made partakers of, the Assembly thinketh good that the blessed sacrament be celebrated hereafter meekly and reverently upon their

<sup>1</sup> 26/27.

knees.'<sup>1</sup> But King James's treatment of suggestions with which he did not agree lacked, as a general rule, the patient reasoning of the above. On one occasion he blurted out, 'As to that other act ordaining the minister himself to give the elements in the celebration out of his own hand to every one of the communicants, and that he may perform this the more comodiously by the advice of the magistrates and honest men of his session, to prepare a table at which the same may be conveniently ministered ; truly we must say that in this the minister's ease and comodious sitting on his tail hath been more looked to than that kneeling which for reverence we directly required to be enjoined to the receivers of so divine a sacrament.'<sup>2</sup> Aggravating as the King's methods were to many Scotsmen, his effort was to pacify all parties with an orderly Service.

But in spite of these efforts to restore outward reverence to the Service of Communion, from the following description by Thomas Hamilton at Easter 1623 we can see how little the success amounted to. He admits the clergy did their part, 'all of them very worthily, according to the time and holy subjects whereof they had to entreat. The number of communicants was small ; no strangers—few of the town's people of good sort. The greater part received kneeling, following the example given by the ministers, and by your Majesty's treasurer, depute-advocate, and me. Master Patric discretely moved some to kneel who offered to have done other wise ; but sundry of the base sort, and some women not of the best, did sit. In the College Church I hear

<sup>1</sup> 21/52.<sup>2</sup> 21/57.

by them whom I caused to attend, that the number of communicants far exceeding that of the High Church, very few of them kneeled.'<sup>1</sup> James finally issued a proclamation saying the recusants were 'mislead with their own conceits and opinions, and with an hypocritical affectation of purity and zeal above others', and declaring that unless all the communicants in the Burgh of Edinburgh received their Christmas Communion kneeling, he would 'not only remove the Sessions, but also all other courts of justice' from the city.<sup>2</sup> At Easter 1627, in 'the Great Kirk' there were very few who obeyed the law, and even some of the ministers refused to kneel. And at the same time the following year the King's angry reply to a remonstrance by some of the ministers resulted in entire omission of the Service. The deadlock in which King James's efforts ended was disheartening to him and disastrous to the Church.

On King Charles's accession, in 1625, the churches were in a ruinous and neglected condition. The description by a Benedictine of St. Giles's Church in 1627 is probably not unfair: 'Bare walls and pillars all clad with dust, sweepings and cobwebs . . . and on every side the restless resorting of people treating of their worldly affairs; some writing and making obligations, contracts and discharges, others laying counts or telling over sums of money. . . . The west end of the church is divided into a high house for the College of Justice, and a lower house called the Low Tolbooth.' King Charles later said that his father 'immediately after his coming into

<sup>1</sup> 21/58.

<sup>2</sup> 21/60.

England compared the decency and uniformity of God's worship here, with that diversity, nay, deformity which was used in Scotland, where no set or public form of prayer was used, but Preachers or Readers and ignorant Schoolmasters prayed in the Church, sometimes so ignorantly that it was a shame to all religion to have the Majesty of God so barbarously spoken unto; sometimes so seditiously that their prayers were plain libels girding at sovereignty and authority; or lies being stuffed with all the false reports in the kingdom'.<sup>1</sup>

It was probably due to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, that in 1629 the Scottish bishops negotiated with the King concerning a national Liturgy. When Laud had approached James on the subject the King had 'sent him back again with the frivolous draught he had drawn',<sup>2</sup> but now, although neither the Scottish bishops nor King Charles would have the entire English Service substituted, Laud seemed for a time successful in his idea. In 1633 Charles entrusted to a number of bishops the preparation of a Liturgy 'as near as can be' to the English. In this year, at the King's visit to Scotland, we have a description of a Service from what should have been an unprejudiced source. 'Now, it is marked that there was ane fourneuket taffil (four-cornered table) manner of ane altar standing within the kirk, having thereupon twa books at least resembling clasped books, called blind books, with twa wax chandeliers, and twa wax candles whilk was unlighted, and ane basin wherein there was nothing. At the back of this altar, covered with tapestry,

<sup>1</sup> 23/24.

<sup>2</sup> 21/61.



there was ane rich tapestry wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought ; and as these bishops who were in service passed by this crucifix they were seen to bow their knee and beck, which, with their habit, was noticed, and bred great fear of inbringing of popery, for whilk they were all deposed, as is set down in these papers.' <sup>1</sup> Dealing with matters that might cause such criticism the Scottish Bishops had in their suggested Book of 1616 shown moderation, but the ritualistic tendency of Charles and Laud was known and exaggerated. Whether the Scots Bishops or the King and his Archbishop were the cause, certain it was the official action that followed presented in an uncompromising way the traditional Service in its English translation.

The King signed, Sept. 28, 1634, the first draft of the proposed Liturgy which is referred to by the Scots Bishops as 'their own' ; and we have Robert Baillie's own word that 'much of it was printed in Edinburgh' before Christmas of 1635. Later he writes, 'it is now perceived by the leaves and sheets of that book which are given out athort the shoppers of Edinburgh to cover spyce and tobacco one edition at least was destroyed'.<sup>2</sup> One reason for the suppression of this edition perhaps was that the designs for the initial letters at the beginning of several prayers had the rose, fleur-de-lys, and thistle, with the Scots emblem beneath those of England and France. This was changed subsequently.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 21/92.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Journal of R. B.*, Lang's ed., 1/32. There are several petty causes probable for dissatisfaction with the publication.

<sup>3</sup> 27.

The impulsive desire of King Charles to see some orderly Service put in force led him to issue a command to the Scots Bishops, 'To cause read the English Service Book in their cathedrals, and to use it morning and evening in their own houses and colleges, as it had been used in his Majesty's chapel royal in the year of God 1617'. Whereupon even the Bishops protested and, 'seeing their own was shortly to come forth, desired that all should be continued till their own were printed and fully authorised; to which his Majesty graciously accorded'.<sup>1</sup> In 1636 the Book of Canons having the sanction of the King put the authority of the Scots Church into the hands of the Bishops and enjoined the acceptance of the coming Liturgy. The proposition was squarely put, as Lang quotes Row, 'The mass in English. All must subscribe to the oath of supremacy and the Book of Canons.'<sup>2</sup>

The writ finally came from Charles in such legal form that it might be put into effect by force if need be. 'Our will is, and we charge you straightly and command that incontinent these our letters seen as you pass, and in our name and authority command and charge all our subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, by open proclamation at the market places of the head burrows of this our kingdom, and other places needful, to conform themselves to the said public form of worship, which is the only form which we (having taken the council of our clergy) think fit to be used in God's public worship in this our kingdom. Commanding also all archbishops and bishops, and other presbyters and Churchmen, to

<sup>1</sup> 21/129.

<sup>2</sup> 23/26.

take a special care that the same be duly obeyed and observed, and the contraveners condignly censured and punished; and to take especial care that every parish betwixt (this) and Pash [Easter] next, procure unto themselves two at least of the said Books of Common Prayer for the use of the Parish. The which to do we commit to you conjunctly and severally our full power by these our letters, delivering the same by you duly execute and endorsed again to the bearer—Given under our signet at Edinburgh the 20th day of December, and of our reign the twelfth year, 1636.’<sup>1</sup> This method of establishing the Liturgy was a grave offence to the Scots pride, and it cannot be thought of merely as an attempt to substitute fixed rites for extempore worship. But not only were the expressions and arrangement of the new Book irksome, but also the manner of its publication. The large volume printed in two colours with Gothic type which had been obsolete for more than a generation and was generally associated with Rome, and, as we have noticed, with pictorial capitals and other traditional elaborations, did not seem to be spared in any detail to suggest to the Scotsman the ‘tracks of the Devil’.

It was against the ‘Romish’ tendencies which people imagined were expressed in the new Book that Laud was forced to defend himself later. The Scottish Commissioners expressed the general apprehension that there were ‘grounds laid for Missa Sicca or the Half-Mass; for private mass without the people; of communicating in one kind; of the consumption by the priest, and of the consumption

<sup>1</sup> 2I/I45.

of the sacrifice, of receiving the sacrament in the hand', &c. The Liturgy was called by a vocabulary of outlandish names which signified that it was a danger to Protestantism. There were perhaps reasons for fear of a less spiritual nature. 'Soap and water,' Lang suggests. And also, 'The landowners suspected that Charles meant to recover more of their old ecclesiastical estates, for the rebuilding of cathedrals, or the cleaning of churches; and thus from "the rascal multitude" upwards, through every rank and condition of his subjects, he gave intolerable offence, and caused extreme apprehension. He lost three kingdoms and his head, not for a mass, but for a surplice.'<sup>1</sup>

One of the greatest grievances at the time seems long to have been one of the most popular errors, i.e. Laud was supposed to have revised the Liturgy. A paper under the Archbishop of St. Andrews's hand and signed by nine other Scots Bishops, which petitioned that 'somewhat might be abated of the English ceremonies, as the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and some other things', was held as evidence of the coercion of those Bishops. The existence of such a paper was doubted. Laud, on the other hand, protested that the coercion with which he was blamed was rather on the part of the Scots Bishops themselves. 'When a deliberation was held to keep close to the English Liturgy or venture upon some additions,' he claims, 'some of your Scottish bishops were earnest to have some additions,' offering 'this for their reason, because if they did not then make that book as perfect as they

<sup>1</sup> 23/26.

could, they should never be able to get it perfected after.' The Archbishop, according to his claims, would have no revision in the Service that should be peculiar. But 'some of the Scottish bishops prevailed herein against' Laud's labours 'to have the English Liturgy sent without any omission or addition at all; that so the Divine service might in all His Majesty's dominions have been one and the same'. There was more than one reason why the Archbishop should yield to the Scots Bishops. But the plea which influenced Laud most was 'that the people would be better satisfied to have a Liturgy composed by their own bishops (as this was) than to have the Service-Book of England put upon them'.<sup>1</sup> Although the Archbishop may have yielded, his contention that since 'the Scottish bishops were commanded by His Majesty to let me see from time to time what they did in the Service Book', seems to make it unjust to consider him the 'author of that book; which', he says, 'yet if I were, I would neither deny nor be ashamed of'.<sup>2</sup>

Laud tells the story as follows: 'I was of clear opinion that if his Majesty would have a liturgy settled there, it were best to take the English Liturgy without any variation, that so the same service book might be established in all his Majesty's dominions; which I did then, and do still think would have been a great happiness to this State, and a great honour and safety to religion. . . . Afterwards the Scottish Bishops, still pressing his Majesty that a liturgy framed by themselves and in some few things differing from ours, would relish better with their

<sup>1</sup> 13/xiv.

<sup>2</sup> 13/xvi.

countrymen, they at last prevailed with his Majesty to have it so, and carried it against me notwithstanding all I could say or do to the contrary. Then his Majesty commanded me to give the bishops of Scotland my best assistance in this way and work. I delayed as much as I could with my obedience; and when nothing would serve but it must go on, I confess I was then very serious, and gave them the best help I could. But wheresoever I had any doubt, I did not only acquaint his Majesty with it, but writ down most of the alterations in his Majesty's presence.'<sup>1</sup> In short, denying the accusation that he had used his power to force the liturgical alteration, he declared, 'This is as false as it is bold: for let them prove that any one particular was so added by me to that book; and let no justice spare me'.<sup>2</sup> Certain it was that Laud was not the only party in the act of alteration. The King's handwriting in his own Book, where changes were made, proves his knowledge of the changes and implies his acquiescence. It was contested further, and probably with full justice, that the Liturgy had been thrust on Scotland without the warrant from the Kirk. But Laud retorted, 'If this be true it was the fault of their own prelates, and theirs only, for aught I know. For though I like the book exceeding well, and hope I shall be able to maintain anything that is in it, and wish with all my heart it had been entertained there (in Scotland); yet I did ever desire that it might come to them with their own liking and approbation. Nay, I did ever, upon all occasions, call upon the Scottish Bishops to do nothing in this particular, but by warrant of law.

<sup>1</sup> 2I/127.<sup>2</sup> 13/xxi.

And further, I professed unto them before his Majesty that though I had obeyed his commands in helping to order that book, yet since I was ignorant of the laws of that kingdom, I would have nothing at all to do with the manner of introducing it; but left that wholly to them who do, or should, understand both that Church and their laws. And I am sure, they told me, they would adventure it no way but that which was legal'.<sup>1</sup>

Associated with the Archbishop in whatever work can be attributed to the English Church in connexion with this Liturgy were Juxon, Bishop of London, and Wren, Bishop of Norwich, who was one of the revisers later under Charles II. And the chief Scots divines were the Bishop of Ross, John Maxwell, who was 'entrusted with the press', and the Bishop of Dunblane, James Wedderburn. The latter, as might be expected in a man of his scholarship, was enthusiastic about the restoration of certain usages which had dropped out of use since the First English Translation had been superseded. The Liturgy was approved by King Charles and generally sanctioned by the Scots Bishops. Or rather the aggressive energy of the former and the liturgical scholarship of the latter won the complete, although perhaps reluctant, acceptance of the episcopate in Scotland. Charles had himself gone over the changes suggested twice, and however others may have attributed political importance to the Liturgy's introduction he was probably more influenced by the religious ideal. But he had taken care to guard himself politically by directing, on October 18, 1636, that 'the

<sup>1</sup> 13/xxiii.

Proclamation for authorizing the Service-Book should not derogate from his Royal Prerogative', which prerogative he had stretched to a dangerous extent. With this preparation and sanction the revised Liturgy was launched on the people of Scotland.

On July 16, 1637, it was announced from some of the pulpits in Edinburgh that the new Service would be read on the following Sunday. Thus it was that on July 23 in St. Giles's the Dean started to read the Service, but he had hardly begun when there arose a clamour in the congregation, and in spite of the presence of the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the rebukes of the Bishop of Edinburgh it developed into a riot. 'There was abundance of virtuous ribaldry, minutely chronicled by admiring pens,' says Andrew Lang; and we must admit with him that, whatever hidden plots may have been connected with the disturbance, 'On the whole "the devouter sex"', and the rascal multitude (which broke the church windows), were quite capable of doing spontaneously all that was done.'<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the trouble which is looked upon as the beginning of the long war is erroneously attributed to Jenny Geddes by some, and a later chronicler says, 'But the old herb-woman at Edinburgh put an end to that game; for hearing the archbishop who watched the rubric, directing him that read the book to read the collect of the day, she made a gross mistake, and cried, "The deal collick in the wem of thee!" and with all threw her cricket-stool at his head'.<sup>2</sup> Gordon, speaking of the occasion, relates how 'the gentlewomen did fall a-tearing and crying that the

<sup>1</sup> 23/27.<sup>2</sup> 21/151.



mass was entered amongst them, and Baal in the church. There was a gentleman, who standing behind a pew, and answering "Amen" to what the dean was reading, a she-zealot hearing him, starts up in choler. "Traitor!" says she, "does thou say mass at my ear?" and with that struck him in the face with her Bible in great indignation and fury'.<sup>1</sup> The rock of indignant opposition against which the liturgical innovation ran shattered all hopes of its being adopted.

Instead of continuing the development of public worship in Scotland the thrusting upon the people of this new Liturgy had the reactionary effect of giving the people something definite to hate. 'In Edinburgh itself, for a month's space or thereby after the first tumult, there was a kind of vacancy of divine service upon the week-days,' says a country clergyman, 'the churches standing desolate, without either preaching weekly, as the custom was, or morning and evening prayer daily, which looked like a kind of episcopal interdict which the town was put under, which did but heighten the rage of the people, who were already in a distemper and discontentment.'<sup>2</sup> Certainly the Council, with the Lords on one side and the Bishops—forced by circumstances to uphold the Liturgy whether they approved or no—on the other, must have been perplexed. Henderson of Leuchars and other clergymen attempted to stay the 'horning' law whereby the acceptance of the Liturgy was to be enforced in the parishes. As a result of the opposition the Council decided that this mild form of outlawry

<sup>1</sup> Gordon's *History*, i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 14.

could be interpreted as applying to the purchase of the Book and not to its use. As for the King, having issued one of his empty commands for the punishment of the rioters, he left it to the Council to enforce the Liturgy. The Council, however, found little support in trying to execute the King's commission.

Except for the Cavaliers in the north, the country might be said to have been united against the enforced Order of Service. Between those who did conform and those who refused there was little friendship spared. The Bishop of Brechin, whose diocese lay between these two parties (so Baillie tells the story), who 'when other feeble cowards couched, went to the pulpit with his pistols, his servants, and, as the report goes, his wife with weapons. He closed the doors and read his service. But when he was done he could scarce get to his house—all flocked about him; and had he not fled he might have been killed. Since, he durst never try that play over again'.<sup>1</sup> But of all the attacks on the Scottish Liturgy the most elaborate is attributed to R. Baillie (although it appeared anonymously), and was called 'Ladensium Αυτοκατακρισις, the Canturbrian's Self-conviction'.<sup>2</sup> His ideas of the Liturgy changed till he held it to be no better than the Popish Mass. Other publications expressed the virulent opposition to the enforced Service. *English Popish Ceremonies* was brought out by another Covenanting divine, George Gillespie. The public responded. Stirred up by such means as these, Edinburgh was twice the scene of mobs whose lack of restraint made Baillie write, 'I think our people possessed

<sup>1</sup> 21/157.

<sup>2</sup> 26/36.

with a bloody devil far above anything that ever I could have imagined, though the mass in Latin had been presented'.<sup>1</sup> On going away the second time Lang writes, 'They left commissioners of every rank in Edinburgh, to watch and warn; these four sets of commissioners were later representatives of nobles, lairds, burgesses, and clergy. They formed, in short, a kind of Committee of Public Safety,' i.e. 'The Tables'.<sup>2</sup> The Liturgy caused so dangerous an opposition that King Charles could no longer leave it to take its own way.

There was much dallying between the King and the Scots Covenant until finally, on September 10, 1638, the following instructions were sent Hamilton, the King's agent in Scotland: 'You shall in full and ample manner, by proclamation and otherwise, as you shall see cause, declare that we do absolutely revoke the Service-book, the Book of Canons, and the High Commission. You shall likewise discharge the practice of the Five Articles of Perth, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament which doth command the same; and in the said proclamation you shall promise in our name, that if in the first Parliament to be held the three Estates shall think fit to repeal the said Act, we shall then give our royal assent to the said Act of repeal.'<sup>3</sup> The General Assembly called in Glasgow Cathedral in 1638 sealed these concessions by repealing or annulling the Acts of former Assemblies as far back as 1606. The Edinburgh Assembly in the next year reasserted the action taken at Glasgow. It is curious to note, in the confusion between political and religious questions,

<sup>1</sup> 21/203.

<sup>2</sup> 23/28.

<sup>3</sup> 21/202.

that the English soldiers feared so much that their marching against the Presbyterians in Scotland might reflect on the Protestant religion at home that, while still in England preparing to lend force to the King's order—according to the reports of Lord Maynard to the Council—‘the insolences of the soldiers billitted in Essex every day increase. Within these few days they have taken upon them to reform churches, and even in the time of divine service to pull down the rails about the communion-tables’.<sup>1</sup>

The chain of events beginning with the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640 were of mutual importance to England and Scotland. In 1642 the Bishops were excluded from the English Parliament; and the year following came the League and Scots Covenant, and the Calling of the Westminster Assembly in England. In 1645, with the execution of Archbishop Laud, the English Book of Common Prayer was suppressed, and the year following Presbyterianism was established in England and the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms were adopted.

On March 14, 1646, the two houses of the English Government agreed in an ‘ordinance for settling of church government’—‘By the merciful assistance of God, having removed the Book of Common Prayer, with all its unnecessary and burdensome ceremonies, and established the Directory in room thereof,’ &c., and with the purpose of avoiding ‘all arbitrary power’ it further declared, ‘that all such cases wherein persons should be suspended from the

<sup>1</sup> 21/297.

Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be brought to the cognisance and pass the judgement of Parliament.' <sup>1</sup> Thus before more vital questions arose the Directory was carried with no opposition. All former liturgical ideas were cleared away for the new order. The sharp conflict that had started nine years before seemed to take away the possibility of introducing the Book of Laud and the Scots Bishops. Further, the fact that the English were to give up their own Book, which had been revised for the Scots in the form of the Book of 1637, perhaps made it easier for them to sacrifice their Book of Common Order. An increasing sympathy with the English Puritans had practically broken off whatever affection may have existed for the Book of Common Order. The last edition of it was brought out in 1643, and although it had never been made illegal it disappeared from use.

The Directory proposed an outline of Service to be used in the three kingdoms. But the freedom introduced with Brownism and Independency placed an important part of the population outside the rule of the established Church, so that it did not hold absolute sway. In fact in Scotland the Directory never had much influence, although it has lasted on as a nominal standard. As for the Communion Service of 1637, when it was abandoned there remained only a strong prejudice against anything of the kind.

In 1661, when the Scots Parliament passed the Rescissory Act, Presbyterianism was thereby deposed, and in the same year the Second Episcopacy was

<sup>1</sup> 21/393.

initiated. The Bishops, on being reinstated, refrained from forcing on the people a Liturgy of their own. And although Robert Leighton accepted the insignificant diocese of Dunblane probably because he could use the English Book of Prayer in the Chapel Royal, except for one or two cases, 'at the Restoration . . . public worship was left to be conducted as it had been practised by the Presbyterians'.<sup>1</sup> The lesson of 1637 had its effect. The Regulations of the Diocesan Synods of 1662, however, call for the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, also a doxology at public worship, the use of the Apostles' Creed in Baptism, and the revival of the almost abandoned custom of publicly reading the Holy Scriptures. Undoubtedly many of the clergy used the Prayer Book in private, but any public expression of what savoured of '1637' times, such as kneeling at Communion, was seldom seen. Gradually the opposition to the traditional form of Liturgy waned, until after a few years several people petitioned the Council for the privilege of privately using the Prayer Book. They were given an 'assurance . . . of the Council's countenance and protection therein'.<sup>2</sup>

In 1662, as a result of the Reformation, the independent organization of Nonconformist bodies was recognized, and in the same year came the final revision of the Prayer Book in England. In Scotland liturgical revision was to go on for many years, and the political events which now followed in England had an important influence upon it. James II, who had come to the throne in 1685, was forced to surren-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. M'Crie, in a review of *Old Mortality*, 23/299.

<sup>2</sup> 26/47.

der it to William and Mary three years later. The year following their accession came the expulsion of all, among whom were certain bishops, who would not take the oath of allegiance to them. The scholarship of several of these men found expression under the freer liturgical restrictions of Scotland. The foundation of the two missionary societies a little later, and the wave of 'High Church' enthusiasm in the reign of Queen Anne, are important events to remember in the general influence of English Church on Scottish liturgical development.

About this time, when the Presbyterian Church first became established in Scotland, Bishop Rattray gives the following description of the Celebration of the Communion: 'The Holy Eucharist was not celebrated, in most places at least, above once a year, if so often; and their method of doing it differed also very little from that of the Presbyterians; for they had their Preparation Sermon (as they called it) the day before, their Action Sermon on the day itself, besides their Discourses at the serving of the tables (for they had long tables placed in the church, on each side of which the people sat as if it had been at a common meal and handed about the Elements from one to another, whilst the attending elders shoved the plate with the Consecrated Bread along the table for their greater conveniency, during which time a Presbyter was still discoursing to them—only after each table was served, while they who had communicated were removing, and others planting themselves again about it, a stanza of a Psalm was singing) and on the day after they had their Thanksgiving Sermon. All this work of

Preparation, Action, and Thanksgiving Sermons, and Discourses at serving the tables (for these were the phrases used by them as well as by the Presbyterians) obliged them likewise to take the assistance of two or three Presbyters from the neighbouring parishes. . . . As for the consecration, that was performed by an extemporary Prayer, which, how defective it must frequently have been, may easily be judged considering that many of them had no notion of its being the Sacrifice of the Christian Church, only they repeated the words of the History of the Institution. And though they might proportion the Bread at first to the number of communicants before consecration ; yet, at least in many places, they generally consecrated but a small part of the Wine, and when it was exhausted they had a little barrel or some other such vessel at hand, from which they filled more, and straight used it without any consecration at all.’<sup>1</sup> To quote further from the same valuable source : ‘ In this deplorable state we continued till about the year 1707 or 1708, only the English Common Prayer Book had been used in some private families before, almost from the beginning of the Revolution, but about that time it began to be introduced into our more public assemblies, and as the gentry and people of better fashion were generally very zealous in promoting it, so it came to take very soon with our commons also ; only some few of our older clergy showed some backwardness to it, as looking upon every alteration, how muchsoever to the better, from what they had been accustomed to, as a culpable innovation.’<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rattray’s *Works*, pp. 350-2.

<sup>2</sup> 26/51.



Two years after the union of England and Scotland we find an evidence of the revival of Prayer Book use. Not a few clergy had at their own risk employed the traditional Services until a test case was made. James Greenshields, an Episcopal clergyman, was imprisoned because in defiance to the Edinburgh Presbytery he had persisted in using the Book. An appeal carried to the House of Lords was decided in his favour. In 1712, because of the increasing number of such cases, a Toleration Act gave to Episcopally ordained ministers the privilege of using the English Book of Prayer. Thus the custom which had since the Revolution been continually growing became legal.

Not only the Service, as we know it to-day, in the English Prayer Book, but the ideas for its revision which were being urged by a group of men mentioned above, were admitted to Scotland. The Scots Service was gradually being influenced by this party of churchmen called the Nonjurors, who in the days of Queen Anne were known as the 'High Church' party. These people, consisting originally of nine bishops and about four hundred clergymen, it will be remembered, were deprived for refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the Prince and Princess of Orange. In England the movement was allowed to gather force. The collegers, as partisans of the Chevalier *versus* the Bishops known as 'usagers', distracted the nonjuring part of the Church for nearly twenty-five years. The four definite planks in the party platform required the restoration to the Liturgy of (1) the express invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Consecration of the Elements, (2) the Prayer of Oblation,

(3) the Commemoration of the Faithful Departed, and (4) the addition of water to the wine in the chalice. Besides these 'greater usages' there were other less important restorations of worship and ritual, not so strongly insisted upon by them. In England the Nonjurors were not only comparatively free from persecution, but such clergymen of the Established Church as John Johnson, Vicar of Cranbrook in Kent, afforded them support. But in their own party the elder Bishop Brett, Bishop Jeremy Collier, and Bishop Hickes gave an intellectual prestige which their opponents could not boast. The contention between the parties seemed to stress the Sacrifice of the Eucharist. Dowden says, 'On the subject of the Sacrifice the nonjuring school, it will be seen, did scarcely more than emphasize the truth that we may and should, present the sacrifice of Christ before the Father in ritual act as well as in words'.<sup>1</sup> The complete idea of the Nonjuring party was not entirely defined, but by one means and another they were making clear what their ideal was. In 1717 the Communion Service, as it was set down in Edward VI's First Book, was reprinted by the Nonjurors. This was accompanied by Bishop Collier's 'Reasons for restoring some prayers and directions as they stand in the Communion Service of the First English Reformed Liturgy'. Other expressions of these reactionary reformers were published from time to time.

But in 1718, in spite of the controversy which these publications stirred up between the divisions of the party, a sample Office bearing the title,

<sup>1</sup> 26/68.

' A Communion Office taken partly from the Primitive liturgies and partly from the first English reformed Common Prayer Book ' was printed. The Nonjuring Bishops we have mentioned before were the principal editors of the new Liturgy, and associated with them were possibly the two Scots Bishops, Gadderar and Campbell, who had kept closely in touch with the movement in England. In this year an attempt was made by the Usagers to obtain a synodical declaration from Scotland in their favour through Bishops Rose and Falconer. But Robert Forbes gives us some idea of the feeling that would meet liturgical innovation in that quarter. He says, ' It is notoriously known that several clergymen in Edinburgh in the lifetime of Bishop Rose (the Bishop died in 1720) and afterwards used no liturgy, but went on in the old Episcopal method which prevailed before the Revolution and long after it, of praying without book. . . . There were several others at that time in Edinburgh who, though they joined in the use of the liturgy when others performed, yet could never themselves be prevailed upon to officiate by it.' <sup>1</sup> Thus it was that this popular prejudice rather discouraged liturgical change. But through all the repression of the Nonjurors in Scotland, political and theological bonds with England had preserved the movement, which might otherwise have died out. But it was difficult for these revisers, who were holding aloof in expectation of the exiled Prince's return, to spread a new use of the Communion Service when, according to the first penal act of 1719, no Episcopal minister who had not taken the oath

<sup>1</sup> Dean Brechin's MS. Collections

to the reigning monarch could officiate in the presence of nine or more persons in addition to the household. As time went on without much hope of a reinstatement of the Stuart line the situation became more strained.

In 1720, when the last of the old diocesan Bishops passed away, the non-ruling Bishops (i.e. those who were waiting for royal sanction from the exile) were forced to band together in an Episcopal College. But matters began to clear a little when, on the 4th of July 1724, what Andrew Lang terms 'the first concordate' was signed by the Primus Fullerton and four other Bishops for the one side, and by Bishop Gadderar for the other side. Also the six years since the Nonjuring Office had appeared had created a desire for a national Communion Service which Bishop Gadderar strove to satisfy in the publication of the 'wee bookies'. These books contained the Office of 1637 with certain omissions, and since it was Bishop Gadderar's own practice it was probably intended that the order of prayers should be changed in actual use. His plan was to gradually bring in the two Usages which did not appear in the 1637 Liturgy. Such an introduction could be effected quietly by employing the free use of prayers, which was so precious to the Scots people, with the traditional Liturgy as a basis.

The same freedom in rearranging the prayers was practised by those who used the English Prayer Books which, especially in the reign of Queen Anne, were spread throughout Scotland. These Books were not forced into the hands of the people, but came unofficially as they were wanted. Bishop

Ratray writes, ' We were also very much assisted by the charity of the good people in England, who sent down, from time to time, great parcels of Common Prayer Books, which were distributed among the common people to their great encouragement'. The English Book was used in Scotland at this time, partly because it connected the Churchmen with their more powerful brothers in the south, partly because of the expense of reprinting the 1637 Liturgy, and partly because of the difficulty of changing the names of the Royal Family in the face of the reformers' political views. (This last difficulty could be avoided in the English Book by pasting a piece of paper over the names of the King and his family where they might appear.) But the English Prayer Book made a good substitute for the Scottish Service Book. ' Besides,' says Bishop Ratray, ' the differences betwixt them are not very material, save only in the Communion Office. Here, indeed, ours is allowed to have the preference, even by the judgement of the learnedest writers of the Church of England themselves ; and accordingly it was used by several of the most intelligent clergy with the Bishop of Edinburgh's knowledge and allowance. And even some who did not use it, did yet interject a Prayer of Invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost to bless and sanctify the Elements, and to make them the Sacramental Body and Blood of Christ, and read the first prayer in the Post-Communion immediately after the words of Institution for a Prayer of Oblation, as it was originally designed.

The formal recognition of the '1637' Liturgy by the entire Episcopate, which was effected in December of 1731, marks the beginning of the liturgical settlement now enjoyed by the Episcopal Church of Scotland. It was also a partial victory for the Nonjurors because it included the recognition of the Invocation and Oblation Usages for which they had striven. Four years later there were printed, merely as the private venture of two booksellers, 'wee bookies' arranged and corrected according to the pen and ink instructions which Bishop Gadderar had marked in the margins of his own copy of the '1637' Book. In 1743 this rearranged Liturgy was republished, and since the original Book of 1637 was not to be had, the Bishops probably had no hesitation in making use of the Gadderar version. Dowden says, 'There can be no question that as a matter of fact the liturgy of the family type determined by Gadderar's "use" and represented by the editions of 1735, 1743, 1752, 1759, and one of the three editions of 1764, was that most generally employed throughout Scotland'.<sup>1</sup>

There appeared a posthumous publication of Bishop Rattray's in 1744, entitled *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*. With the assumption that the Liturgy of St. James made the best foundation, he compared it with other ancient Liturgies, and set forth a critical restoration of it, together with a modern adaptation. Although it had its influence upon the succeeding liturgical suggestions, it probably failed to be sufficiently modern to be practical. This influence is evident in

<sup>1</sup> 26/87, 25/102.

the Communion Office published by Bishop W. Falconer in 1755.

This Bishop Falconer, when he was Primus, in 1762, suggested 'altering or amending the Communion Office', and two years later, in collaboration with Robert Forbes, he undertook the revision. Their work resulted in the publication of the Book of 1764. The prestige of the editors and not an official recognition made it take the place of the former Gadderar type and won for it an almost immediate success which has lasted down to the present. The later changes in the Scottish Service, several of which were sanctioned by Primus John Skinner, are of small doctrinal import. The Liturgy differs from that of 1637 chiefly in the arrangement of prayers, but it succeeded in bringing uniformity into the church Services. The outstanding figure in the accomplishment of this uniformity was George Gleig, Bishop of Brechin (1808-40), and Primus. The Scottish Office received its first canonical sanction in the Synod at Aberdeen in 1811.<sup>1</sup> It was allowed 'to retain the English Office in all congregations where the said office had been previously in use. . . . In respect, however, to the authority which sanctioned the Scottish Liturgy, and for other good and sufficient reasons, it is hereby enacted that the Scottish Communion Office shall be used in all consecrations of Bishops; and that every Bishop, when consecrated, shall give his full assent to it as being sound in itself, and of primary authority in Scotland, and therefore shall not permit its being laid aside where now used, but by the authority of

<sup>1</sup> 15th of the XXVI Canons.

the College of Bishops'. This was changed in 1828 (now the 26th Canon corresponds to the '15th') so that the choice of Offices was to be approved by the Bishop of the diocese and the authority of the College of Bishops was not to be requisite.<sup>1</sup>

At this point in the history of Scotland we can speak of uniformity in the Service, because, as Dowden says, 'Although we possess no "Sealed Books" like the Church of England, or "Standard Books" like the American Church, the Scottish Communion Office has a concrete existence'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 26/107.

<sup>2</sup> 26/100.



for the celebration of  
Order for the Administration  
the Holy Eucharist  
of the  
and administration of  
Lord's Supper  
or  
HOLY COMMUNION.  
commonly called

*The Scottish Communion Office*<sup>1</sup>

SO MANY AS INTEND TO BE PARTAKERS OF THE  
HOLY COMMUNION, . . . OR IMMEDIATELY AFTER.

AND IF ANY OF THOSE BE AN OPEN AND NOTORIOUS  
EVIL LIVER, . . . , AS SOON AS HE CONVENIENTLY  
MAY.

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*Rubric for the Decalogue.*—In the rubric preceding the Ten Commandments a too literal interpretation is guarded against by the modifying reference to THE SPIRITUAL IMPORT OF EACH OF THE COMMANDMENTS. The second Commandment possibly has a mystical meaning. And the strict Judaic idea of the fourth Commandment, upon which there seemed to be a tendency as early as 1636 to base Sabbatarianism, is avoided by this rubric.

*Wording of the Decalogue.*—The Authorized Version was used for the wording of the Decalogue in the 1637 Service, and the manner of differentiating in type the words not found in the

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<sup>1</sup> For cross-references to the English and American texts, and for further explanations of liturgical changes, see Table of Contents.

\* THE SAME ORDER SHALL THE CURATE USE WITH THOSE, BETWIXT WHOM HE PERCEIVETH MALICE AND HATRED TO REIGN, . . . AND NOT HIM THAT IS OBSTINATE.

*Holy*

\* THE ^ TABLE HAVING AT THE COMMUNION TIME

*with other decent furniture meet for the high  
Mysterries there to be celebrated*

A FAIR WHITE LINEN CLOTH UPON IT, ^ SHALL

*at the uppermost part of the Chancel or Church.*

STAND in the body of the Church, or in the chancel, where Morning prayer and Evening prayer be appointed to be said.

*Presbyter*

AND THE priest, STANDING AT THE north side of THE

*Holy*

^ TABLE, SHALL SAY THE LORD'S PRAYER, WITH

*the for due preparation, the people kneeling.*

this COLLECT FOLLOWING ^ .

*Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation ; But deliver us from evil. Amen.*

*The Collect.*

ALMIGHTY GOD, UNTO WHOM ALL HEARTS ARE OPEN, . . . THROUGH CHRIST OUR LORD. AMEN.

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Hebrew is also followed. Later Scots editions varied in this matter.

*The Summary.*—The SUMMARY differs with the editions of the Scots Communion Office. The English Nonjuror's Office (1718)—in which the Summary is not an alternative with, but a substitute for, the Decalogue—opens with the words, 'Jesus said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God', &c., the rest of the quotation being from St. Matt. xxii. 37-40, and is, Dowden thinks, what first suggested the liturgical use of the Evangelical Summary. The use of *Lord* for *God* in the phrase IS ONE LORD is an error which

*Presbyter turning to the people,*

THEN SHALL THE  $\wedge$  priest REHEARSE DISTINCTLY

*all the while*  
 ALL THE TEN COMMANDMENTS ; and THE PEOPLE  $\wedge$   
*and asking God mercy for the transgression of*  
 KNEELING, shall after every Commandment ask God's  
*every duty therein, according to the letter or to the spiritual*  
 mercy for their transgression of the same, after this sort.  
*import of each Commandment, and grace to keep the same for*  
*the time to come.*

Minister.

GOD SPAKE THESE WORDS AND SAID ; I AM THE  
 LORD THY GOD : etc.

PEOPLE.

LORD, HAVE MERCY UPON US, AND INCLINE OUR  
 HEARTS TO KEEP THIS LAW.

*Presbyter.*

Minister.

THOU SHALT NOT MAKE TO THYSELF ANY GRAVEN  
 IMAGE, etc.

*Or he may rehearse, instead of the Ten Commandments, the  
 Summary of the Law as followeth :*

*Our Lord Jesus Christ said : Hear, O Israel, the Lord our  
 God is one Lord : and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with  
 all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and  
 with all thy strength : This is the first commandment. And  
 the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour  
 as thyself : there is none other commandment greater than  
 these. On these two commandments hang all the Law and  
 the Prophets.*

---

appears in several editions. The Summary adds the love of God  
 as a duty, which Bishop Gadderar points out is omitted from  
 the Decalogue.

*People.*

*Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.*

*Or else instead of the Ten Commandments or the Summary of the Law, may be sung or said on week days, not being great Festivals, as followeth :*

*Lord, have mercy upon us.*

*Christ, have mercy upon us.*

*Lord, have mercy upon us.*

*Then the Presbyter shall say,*

*The Lord be with you.*

*Answer. And with thy spirit.*

*Presbyter. Let us pray.*

*the Presbyter, turning to the Holy Table, shall say the*

**THEN** shall follow the Collect of the day, with one of these *Collect or Collects ;*

two Collects following for the King : the Priest standing up and saying,

**Let us pray.**

**Priest.**

Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting, . . . without end. Amen.

Almighty and everlasting God, we be taught by thy holy Word, that the hearts of Kings are in thy rule and governance, . . . our Lord. Amen.

*and then the Presbyter, or some other Presbyter or Deacon,* Immediately after the Collects, the Priest  $\wedge$  **SHALL READ**

*saying,*

**THE EPISTLE**, beginning thus.

*(or, The portion of scripture, appointed for the Epistle) is*

**THE EPISTLE**  $\wedge$  **WRITTEN IN THE** — **CHAPTER**

*beginning at the* — *verse.*

**OF** —  $\wedge$ .

*Here endeth the Epistle. Then shall the  
Presbyter, or some other Presbyter or Deacon, read*  
AND THE EPISTLE ENDED, HE SHALL SAY ^ THE

*saying,*  
GOSPEL, beginning thus.

*Holy is*  
THE ^ GOSPEL ^ WRITTEN IN THE — CHAP-  
*the Gospel according to beginning at the — verse ; and*  
TER OF ^ — ^  
*the people, all standing up, shall devoutly sing or say,*  
*Glory be to thee, O Lord.*

*And the Gospel ended, the people shall in like manner sing or  
say,*

*Thanks be to thee, O Lord, for this thy glorious Gospel.*

*Then sung or*  
And the Epistle and Gospel being ended, ^ SHALL BE ^  
*this following, the people still reverently standing.*  
SAID the CREED ^ .

I BELIEVE IN ONE GOD, . . . AND THE LIFE OF THE  
WORLD TO COME. AMEN.

After the Creed, if there be no sermon, shall follow one of the  
homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by  
common authority. After such sermon, homily, or exhorta-  
tion, the Curate shall declare unto the people whether there  
be any holy days or fasting days the week following : and  
earnestly exhort them to remember the poor, saying one or  
more of these Sentences following, as he thinketh most  
convenient by his discretion.

*Then the Presbyter shall declare unto the people what Holy-days  
or Fasting-days are in the week to be observed. And also (if  
occasion be) notice shall be given of the Holy Communion ;*

*Response to the Gospel.*—The Scottish amplification in the  
phrase, FOR THIS THY GLORIOUS GOSPEL, is perhaps due to the  
Eastern influence. In the 1764 edition 'this thy holy table' and  
'his most sacred body' are further examples of this tendency.

banns of Matrimony may be published ; and, subject to the authority of the Bishop, other notices may be read.

*If there be a Sermon it followeth here.*

*When the Presbyter giveth warning of the Holy Communion he may, at his discretion, use the first or the second of the Exhortations appended to this Liturgy.*

*The third Exhortation appended to this Liturgy may be used at the discretion of the Presbyter before the Offertory, the people standing.*

*Then the Presbyter or Deacon shall say,*

*Let us present our offerings to the Lord with reverence and godly fear. Then the Presbyter shall begin the Offertory, saying one or more of the following sentences, as he thinketh most convenient.*

**Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven Matth. v.**

*In process of time it came to pass, . . . Gen. iv. 3, 4, 5.*

*Speak unto the children of Israel, . . . . . Exod. xxv. 2.*

*Ye shall not appear before the Lord empty Deut. xvi. 16, 17.*

*I will offer in his dwelling an oblation. . . . Ps. xxvii. 7.*

*Offer unto God thanksgiving, . . . . . Ps. i. 14.*

*Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his*

*Name . . . . . Ps. xcvi. 8.*

*I will offer unto thee the sacrifice . . . . . Ps. cxvi. 15, 16.*

**LAY NOT UP FOR YOURSELVES**

*treasures . . . . . St. 19, 20.*  
**treasure UPON the EARTH . . . . . MATTH. VI.**

**Whatsoever ye would that men should**

*St.*

**do unto you. . . . . Matth. vii.**

*Exhortation for the Offertory.*—The idea of the DEACON saying the exhortation for the Offertory is doubtless due to the same Eastern influence we have noted before.

NOT EVERY ONE THAT SAITH UNTO ME,

St. 21.

LORD..... Matth. VII.

St.

Zache stood forth, and said unto the Lord, Luk. xix.

Jesus sat over against the treasury, .. St. Mark xii. 41-44.

Remember the words of the Lord Jesus Acts xx. 35.

WHO GOETH A WARFARE at ANY TIME AT HIS OWN

*charges*

cost? ..... 1 COR. IX. 7.

IF WE HAVE SOWN UNTO YOU SPIRITUAL THINGS,

*thing*

carnal

IS IT A GREAT matter IF WE SHALL REAP YOUR worldly

11.

THINGS?..... 1 COR. IX.

DO YE NOT KNOW, THAT THEY WHICH MINISTER

*things of the temple*

ABOUT HOLY THINGS, LIVE OF THE ^ sacrifice?

*at*

THEY WHICH WAIT of THE ALTAR ARE PARTAKERS

WITH THE ALTAR? EVEN SO HATH THE LORD also

13, 14.

ORDAINED :..... 1 COR. IX.

*sparingly*

*also sparingly*

HE WHICH SOWETH little, SHALL REAP little, AND

*which*

*bountifully*

*also bountifully.*

HE that SOWETH plenteously, SHALL REAP plenteously.

*purposeth*

Let EVERY MAN do ACCORDING AS HE is disposed IN HIS

*so let him give*

6, 7.

HEART; ^ NOT GRUDGINGLY ..... 2 COR. IX.

*communicate*

LET HIM THAT IS TAUGHT IN THE WORD, minister

6, 7.

UNTO HIM ..... GALA. VI.

*As we have opportunity*

While we have time, LET US DO GOOD UNTO ALL

MEN ..... GALA. VI. 10.

Godliness is great riches, ..... 1 TIM. VI.

*that*

CHARGE THEM which ARE RICH IN THIS WORLD,  
*not high minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living  
 God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy : That they do good,  
 that they be rich in good works,*

THAT THEY BE ^ READY to give, and glad TO  
*willing to communicate;*

DISTRIBUTE, ^ LAYING UP IN STORE FOR  
 THEMSELVES A GOOD FOUNDATION AGAINST THE

*lay hold on*

TIME TO COME, THAT THEY MAY ^ attain ETERNAL

17, 18, 19.

LIFE..... 1 TIM. VI.

*to*

GOD IS NOT UNRIGHTEOUS, that he will FORGET YOUR  
*work*

works AND LABOUR, that proceedeth OF LOVE, WHICH

*toward his name, in that ye*

love YE HAVE SHEWED for his name's sake, which ^

HAVE MINISTERED unTO THE SAINTS, AND YET DO

10.

MINISTER.....HEBRE. VI.

*communicate*

TO DO GOOD AND TO distribute, FORGET

*well*

NOT, FOR WITH SUCH SACRIFICES GOD IS ^

16.

PLEASED.....HEBRE. XIII.

Whoso hath this world's good,..... 1 John iii.

Give alms of thy goods, ..... Tob. iv.

Be merciful after thy power ..... Tob. iv.

He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth  
 unto the Lord ..... Prov. xix.



**Blessed be the man that provideth for the sick. . . Psalm xli.**

*While the Presbyter distinctly pronounceth one or more of*

*Then shall the Church-wardens, or some other by them these sentences for the Offertory, the Deacon or (if no such appointed, gather the devotions of the people, and put the person be present) some other fit person, shall receive the same into the poor men's box : and upon the offering days devotions of the people there present, in a bason provided for appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the Curate that purpose. And when all have offered, he shall reverently the due and accustomed offerings : after which done the bring the said bason, with the offerings therein, and deliver it Priest shall say,*

*to the Presbyter ; who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the Holy Table.*

*And the Presbyter shall then offer up, and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table : and shall say,*

*Blessed be thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness and the glory and the victory, and the majesty : for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine : thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all : both riches and honour come of thee, and of thine own do we give unto thee. Amen.*

**[Following Prayer placed after the Invocation and before the Lord's Prayer.]**

*The Presbyter.*

**LET US PRAY FOR THE WHOLE STATE OF CHRIST'S CHURCH militant here in earth.**

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*Position of Prayer for the Church.*—In 1637 the Prayer for the Church remained in the place it had originally held in 1552, but later it was changed to follow the Invocation.

*The Presbyter.*

ALMIGHTY AND EVERLIVING GOD, <sup>who</sup> which BY THY HOLY APOSTLE HAST TAUGHT US TO MAKE PRAYERS AND SUPPLICATIONS, AND TO GIVE THANKS FOR ALL MEN : WE HUMBLY BESEECH THEE MOST MERCI-

\* If there be none alms given unto the poor, then shall the words of accepting our alms be left out unsaid. FULLY to (accept our \* alms) and TO RECEIVE THESE OUR PRAYERS, WHICH WE OFFER UNTO THY DIVINE MAJESTY, BESEECHING THEE TO INSPIRE CON-

TINUALLY THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH WITH THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH, UNITY, AND CONCORD : AND GRANT THAT ALL THEY THAT DO CONFESS THY HOLY NAME, MAY AGREE IN THE TRUTH OF THY HOLY WORD, AND LIVE IN UNITY AND GODLY LOVE. WE BESEECH THEE ALSO TO SAVE AND DEFEND ALL CHRISTIAN KINGS, PRINCES, AND GOVERNOURS, AND ESPECIALLY THY SERVANT

George Edward OUR KING, THAT UNDER HIM WE MAY BE GODLY AND QUIETLY GOVERNED : AND GRANT UNTO

HIS WHOLE COUNCIL, AND TO ALL <sup>who are</sup> that are PUT IN AUTHORITY UNDER HIM, THAT THEY MAY TRULY

<sup>impartially</sup> AND indifferently MINISTER JUSTICE, TO THE PUNISHMENT OF WICKEDNESS AND VICE, AND TO THE MAIN-

<sup>thy</sup> TENANCE OF God's TRUE RELIGION AND VIRTUE.

' Who.'—The pronoun WHICH was changed to WHO in 1755.

*Prayer for the Church.*—In 1735 there was no provision noted for the omission of the words TO ACCEPT OUR ALMS, and twenty-nine years later AND OBLATIONS is added to the words. But in 1889 the complete phrase TO ACCEPT OUR ALMS AND OBLATIONS is omitted.

*Terms for Ministers.*—PASTORS AND CURATES was changed in

**GIVE GRACE (O HEAVENLY FATHER) TO ALL BISHOPS,**

*Priests and Deacons,*

**Pastors, and Curates, THAT THEY MAY BOTH BY THEIR**

**LIFE AND DOCTRINE SET FORTH THY TRUE AND <sup>living</sup> lively**

**WORD, AND RIGHTLY AND DULY ADMINISTER THY**

**HOLY SACRAMENTS : AND TO ALL THY PEOPLE GIVE**

**THY HEAVENLY GRACE, and especially to this congrega-**

**tion here present, THAT WITH MEEK HEART AND DUE**

**REVERENCE THEY MAY HEAR AND RECEIVE THY**

**HOLY WORD, TRULY SERVING THEE IN HOLINESS**

**AND RIGHTEOUSNESS ALL THE DAYS OF THEIR LIFE.**

*And we commend especially to thy merciful goodness the congrega-*

*tion which is here assembled in thy Name, to celebrate the*

*commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy*

*Son our Saviour Jesus Christ.*

**AND WE MOST HUMBLY**

**BESEECH THEE OF THY GOODNESS (O LORD) TO**

**COMFORT AND SUCCOUR ALL <sup>those who</sup> them, which IN THIS**

**TRANSITORY LIFE BE IN TROUBLE, SORROW, NEED,**

**SICKNESS, OR ANY OTHER ADVERSITY :** *And we also*

*bless thy holy name for all thy servants, who, having finished*

*their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we*

*yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the*

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1637 to PRESBYTERS AND CURATES ; in 1735 PASTORS alone was printed with BISHOPS ; and in 1764 the three orders, BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS, were all set down in the text.

*Insertion in Prayer for the Church.*—The clause commending the congregation and mentioning the sacrifice of Christ was inserted in 1637.

*Addition to Prayer for the Church.*—The Prayer for the Faithful Departed and the Thanks for the Examples in God's Saints were inserted at the close of the Prayer for the Church in 1637.

*wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy servants who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations, most humbly beseeching thee to give us grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*

GRANT THIS, O FATHER, FOR JESUS CHRIST'S SAKE, OUR ONLY MEDIATOR AND ADVOCATE. AMEN.

[*The Exhortations are appended to the Liturgy, but are read after the Sermon, as stated in the Rubric before the Offertory.*]

Then shall follow this exhortation at certain times when the Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the holy Communion.

We be come together at this time, dearly beloved brethren, to feed at the Lord's supper, . . . we shall make our humble petitions while we shall receive the holy Communion.

*Exhortations before Holy Communion.*

*Dearly beloved, on —day next I purpose . . .* AND AVOIDING OF ALL SCRUPLE AND DOUBTFULNESS.

And sometime shall be said this also, at the discretion of the Curate.

*Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is . . .* AND AVOIDING OF ALL SCRUPLE AND DOUBTFULNESS.

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*Exhortations.*—In 1735 and after, the wording of the rubrics for the EXHORTATIONS and the EXHORTATIONS themselves were changed, but not till recent times were they read after the sermon.

*The following may be said, instead of the former, in case the Presbyter shall see the people negligent to come to the Holy Communion.*

*Dearly beloved brethren, on — I intend, by God's grace, to celebrate the Lord's Supper : . . . for the obtaining whereof we shall not cease to make our humble petitions unto Almighty God our heavenly Father.*

*Exhortation at the Holy Communion.*

Then shall the Priest say this exhortation.

DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD : YE THAT MIND . . .  
ALL THE DAYS OF OUR LIFE. AMEN.

[*The Prayer for the Church, as noted above, is followed by the Lord's Prayer—see Lord's Prayer after Words of Administration, 1552—and then by the Invitation, 'Ye that do truly', &c.*]

*Then the Presbyter or Deacon shall say this invitation to them*

Then shall the Priest say to them   ^   **THAT COME TO  
RECEIVE THE HOLY COMMUNION,**

*Ye*

**YOU THAT DO TRULY AND EARNESTLY REPENT**

*are*

**YOU OF YOUR SINS, AND be IN LOVE AND CHARITY  
WITH YOUR NEIGHBOURS, AND INTEND TO LEAD  
A NEW LIFE, FOLLOWING THE COMMANDMENTS OF  
GOD, AND WALKING FROM HENCEFORTH IN HIS HOLY**

*with faith*

**WAYS: DRAW NEAR   ^   AND TAKE THIS HOLY  
SACRAMENT TO YOUR COMFORT: MAKE YOUR  
HUMBLE CONFESSION TO ALMIGHTY GOD, before this**

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*Order of Prayers.*—The 1637 order of prayers followed the 1552 precedent, but in 1735 the Prayer for the Church, followed by the Lord's Prayer, Invitation, Confession and Absolution, &c., became the precedent which has since been followed.

congregation here gathered together in his holy name,  
MEEKLY KNEELING UPON YOUR KNEES.

THEN SHALL THIS GENERAL CONFESSION BE MADE,  
*by the people, along with*  
in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy  
Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the  
*the Presbyter ; he first kneeling down.*  
ministers, or by the Priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon  
their knees.

ALMIGHTY GOD, FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS  
CHRIST, . . . THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD.  
AMEN.

*Presbyter* *if he be*  
THEN SHALL THE Priest OR THE BISHOP (being  
PRESENT) STAND UP, AND TURNING HIMSELF TO  
*pronounce the Absolution as followeth :*  
THE PEOPLE, say thus,

ALMIGHTY GOD, OUR HEAVENLY FATHER, . . .  
THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD. AMEN.

*Presbyter*  
THEN SHALL THE Priest ALSO SAY,  
HEAR WHAT COMFORTABLE WORDS OUR SAVIOUR  
CHRIST SAITH, TO ALL THAT TURN TO HIM.

COME UNTO ME ALL THAT <sup>labour</sup> travail, AND <sup>are</sup> be HEAVY  
*will give you rest. St. Matth. xi. 28.* so  
LADEN, AND I shall refresh you. So GOD ^  
LOVED THE WORLD, THAT HE GAVE HIS ONLY BEGOT-

*whosoever believeth*  
TEN SON, to the end THAT all that believe IN HIM, SHOULD  
*life. St. John iii. 16.*  
NOT PERISH, BUT HAVE life EVERLASTING ^ .

HEAR ALSO WHAT SAINT PAUL SAITH.

*faithful*  
THIS IS A true SAYING, AND WORTHY OF ALL



*company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name, evermore praising thee and saying, Presbyter and People.*

*Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. Amen.*

## PROPER PREFACES.

UPON CHRISTMAS DAY, AND SEVEN DAYS AFTER.

BECAUSE THOU DIDST GIVE JESUS CHRIST, THINE

\*( on )  
ONLY SON, TO BE BORN AS ^ THIS DAY FOR US, . . .

*with angels*  
THEREFORE ^ &c.

UPON EASTER DAY, AND SEVEN DAYS AFTER.

BUT CHIEFLY WE ARE BOUND TO PRAISE THEE, . . .

*with Angels*  
THEREFORE ^ &c.

UPON the ASCENSION DAY, AND SEVEN DAYS AFTER.

*ly*  
THROUGH THY MOST DEAR ^ BELOVED SON, . . .

*with Angels*  
THEREFORE ^ &c.

*Pentecost or*  
UPON ^ WHITSUNDAY, AND SIX DAYS AFTER.

THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD, ACCORDING

*\*During the six days after Whitsunday say, as at this time.* TO WHOSE MOST TRUE PROMISE, THE

\*( )  
*as on*  
HOLY GHOST CAME DOWN ^ THIS DAY FROM

*Time of saying Prefaces.*—In the Christmas Day Preface the sense of the 1637 words ‘as this day’ is preserved in the words AS ON THIS DAY. The same expression is used for Whitsunday. The notes in the margin provide for the emphasis of the festival and at the same time meet the Puritans’ objection that the preface could not be said after the festival with appropriateness.



*have been*

HEAVEN, . . . WHEREBY WE are BROUGHT OUT OF  
DARKNESS AND ERROR, INTO THE CLEAR LIGHT AND  
TRUE KNOWLEDGE OF THEE, AND OF THY SON  
*with Angels*  
JESUS CHRIST. THEREFORE  $\wedge$  &c.  
UPON THE FEAST OF TRINITY ONLY.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we  
should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to thee,

*Who*

O Lord, almighty and everlasting God, which ART ONE GOD,  
ONE LORD, NOT ONE ONLY PERSON, BUT THREE  
PERSONS IN ONE SUBSTANCE : . . . THEREFORE WITH  
*Angels*  
 $\wedge$  &c.

---

*The following may be used at the discretion of the Minister.*

*Additional Proper Prefaces.*

*Upon the Epiphany, and seven days after.*

*Upon the Purification.*

*Upon the Annunciation.*

*Upon Feasts of Apostles and Evangelists, except when the  
proper preface for any of the Great Festivals is appointed  
to be said.*

*Upon All Saints' Day.*

*At the Consecration of Bishops, and Ordination of Priests and  
Deacons.*

*At the Dedication of a Church, and Anniversary of the Dedi-  
cation.*

---

*prefaces*

AFTER WHICH preface, SHALL FOLLOW IMMEDI-  
*this doxology.*  
ATELY  $\wedge$  ,

THEREFORE WITH ANGELS . . . AND SAYING ;

*Amen.*

HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, . . . MOST HIGH.

[*The following Prayer of Humble Access continues directly after the 'Comfortable Words' above.*]

*Presbyter, turning him to the Altar kneel*  
THEN SHALL THE Priest, kneeling ^ DOWN at God's  
*and*

board, ^ SAY IN THE NAME OF ALL THEM THAT  
*communicate* *collect of humble access*  
SHALL receive the Communion, THIS prayer following.

*to the Holy Communion, as followeth :*

WE DO NOT PRESUME TO COME TO THIS THY TABLE  
. . . , AND HE IN US. AMEN.

[*The Institution is taken from here and made to follow the Prefaces above.*]

*Presbyter* *at such part of the Holy*  
THEN THE Priest STANDING up  
*Table as he may with the most ease and decency use both his*  
*hands,* *the prayer of consecration*

SHALL SAY AS FOLLOWETH :

*All glory be to thee,*

ALMIGHTY GOD, OUR HEAVENLY

*for that thou*

FATHER, ^ which OF THY TENDER MERCY DIDST  
GIVE THINE ONLY SON JESUS CHRIST, TO SUFFER  
DEATH UPON THE CROSS FOR OUR REDEMPTION,

*own*

WHO made there (BY HIS one OBLATION OF HIMSELF

*Position of Prayer of Consecration.*—The position of the Consecration Prayer, which is so much later in the English and American orders of Service, is probably taken from its position in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.

*Own for One.*—Speaking of the change of ONE to OWN, Dowden says, 'Here the intention of Bishop Falconer was, probably, to bring into prominence the voluntariness of the offering of Himself

ONCE OFFERED) <sup>made</sup> ^ A FULL, PERFECT AND SUFFICIENT SACRIFICE, OBLATION, AND SATISFACTION, FOR THE SINS OF THE WHOLE WORLD, AND DID INSTITUTE, AND IN HIS HOLY GOSPEL COMMAND US

TO CONTINUE, A PERPETUAL <sup>memorial</sup> memory OF THAT HIS

PRECIOUS DEATH <sup>and sacrifice</sup> ^ , UNTIL HIS COMING AGAIN : Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee ; and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers

<sup>For</sup> of his most blessed body and blood : who, ^ IN THE

same NIGHT THAT HE WAS BETRAYED, <sup>(a) he</sup> ^ <sup>(a) Here the</sup> <sup>Presbyter is to</sup> <sup>take the paten in</sup> <sup>his hands :</sup> TOOK BREAD, AND WHEN HE HAD

GIVEN THANKS, <sup>(b)</sup> ^ HE BRAKE IT, AND <sup>(b) And here to</sup> <sup>break the bread :</sup> GAVE IT TO HIS DISCIPLES, SAYING : <sup>(c) And here to</sup> <sup>lay his hands up-</sup> <sup>on all the bread :</sup>

TAKE EAT <sup>(c)</sup> ^ THIS IS MY BODY WHICH <sup>(c) Here he is</sup> <sup>to take the cup</sup> <sup>into his hand :</sup> IS GIVEN FOR YOU. DO THIS IN RE- <sup>(e) And here to</sup> <sup>lay his hand upon</sup> <sup>every vessel (be it</sup> <sup>chalice or flagon)</sup> <sup>in which there is</sup> <sup>any wine to be</sup> <sup>consecrated.</sup> MEMBRANCE OF ME. LIKEWISE AFTER

SUPPER <sup>(d)</sup> ^ HE TOOK THE CUP, AND <sup>(d) Here he is</sup> <sup>to take the cup</sup> <sup>into his hand :</sup> WHEN HE HAD GIVEN THANKS, HE GAVE IT TO THEM,

SAYING : DRINK YE ALL OF THIS, FOR <sup>(e)</sup> ^ THIS

by Christ, as we find it expressed in the ancient liturgies in this place, just preceding the Words of Institution' (26/209).

*Memorial for Memory.*—The old sense of the word MEMORY as expressed by Shakespeare, 'And upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual *memory*' (*King Lear*, IV. vii. 7), is more usually understood to-day by the word MEMORIAL.

IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY, FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS : DO THIS AS OFT AS YE SHALL DRINK IT IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME.

*The Oblation.*

*Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make ; having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension ; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, and looking for his coming again with power and great glory.*

*The Invocation.*

*And, humbly praying that it may be unto us according to his word, we thine unworthy servants beseech thee, most merciful Father, to hear us, and to send thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that, being blessed and hallowed by his life-giving power, they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, to the end that all who shall receive the same may be sanctified both in body and soul, and preserved unto everlasting life.*

**[The following Words of Administration follow directly the Prayer of Humble Access above.]**

*he that celebrateth*

**THEN SHALL** the minister **FIRST RECEIVE THE COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS HIMSELF, AND NEXT DE-**  
*the same to the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons* **be any**  
**LIVER**  $\wedge$  it to other ministers, **IF any be THERE**  $\wedge$   
**PRESENT** (that they may help the chief minister,) **AND**



*and let us beg of him grace to perform our vows in our good resolutions ; and that being made holy, we may obtain everlasting life, through the merits of the all-sufficient sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

*This exhortation may be omitted except on Sundays and the Great Festivals.*

**[The Lord's Prayer is taken from here and placed after the Prayer for the Church, as above noted.]**

*Presbyter*

**THEN SHALL THE Priest SAY** the Lord's prayer, the people repeating after him every petition.

*As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,*

*Presbyter and People.*

*Our Father which art . . . For ever and ever. Amen.*

**[The following Prayer is made to continue the Invocation above.]**

After shall be said as followeth.

O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants

*And we earnestly*

entirely  $\wedge$  DESIRE THY FATHERLY GOODNESS MERCIFULLY TO ACCEPT THIS OUR SACRIFICE OF PRAISE AND THANKSGIVING: MOST HUMBLY BESEECHING THEE TO GRANT, THAT BY THE MERITS AND DEATH OF THY SON JESUS CHRIST, AND THROUGH FAITH IN HIS BLOOD, WE AND ALL THY WHOLE CHURCH MAY OBTAIN REMISSION OF OUR SINS, AND ALL

*humbly*

OTHER BENEFITS OF HIS PASSION. AND HERE WE  $\wedge$  OFFER AND PRESENT UNTO THEE, O LORD, OURSELVES, OUR SOULS AND BODIES, TO BE A REASON-

*living*

ABLE, HOLY, AND *lively* SACRIFICE UNTO THEE :

*who shall*  
 humbly BESEECHING THEE, THAT ALL WE, which BE  
*worthily receive the*  
 PARTAKERS OF THIS HOLY COMMUNION, MAY ^  
*most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ and*  
 BE FULFILLED WITH THY GRACE AND HEAVENLY  
*made one body with him, that he may dwell in*  
 BENEDICTION. And ^ ALTHOUGH WE BE UN-  
*us and we in him. And*  
 WORTHY THROUGH OUR MANIFOLD SINS TO OFFER  
 UNTO THEE ANY SACRIFICE : YET WE BESEECH THEE  
 TO ACCEPT THIS OUR BOUNDEN DUTY AND SERVICE,  
 NOT WEIGHING OUR MERITS, BUT PARDONING OUR  
 OFFENCES, THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD ; BY  
 WHOM AND WITH WHOM, IN THE UNITY OF THE  
 HOLY GHOST, ALL HONOUR AND GLORY BE UNTO  
 THEE, O FATHER ALMIGHTY, WORLD WITHOUT END.  
 AMEN.

*[The following Prayer comes directly after the Administration and Exhortation.]*

*Then the Presbyter shall say this collect of thanksgiving as followeth :*

Or this.

ALMIGHTY AND EVERLIVING GOD, WE MOST  
 HEARTILY THANK THEE, FOR THAT THOU DOST  
*who*  
 VOUCHSAFE TO FEED US, which HAVE DULY RECEIVED  
 THESE HOLY MYSTERIES, WITH THE SPIRITUAL  
 FOOD OF THE MOST PRECIOUS BODY AND BLOOD OF  
 THY DEAR SON OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, AND  
 DOST ASSURE US THEREBY OF THY FAVOUR AND  
 S  
 GOODNESS TOWARD US, AND THAT WE BE VERY

MEMBERS INCORPORATE IN *the* thy MYSTICAL BODY <sup>of thy Son,</sup>  $\wedge$  ,  
WHICH IS THE BLESSED COMPANY OF ALL FAITHFUL

PEOPLE, AND *are* be ALSO HEIRS THROUGH HOPE OF THY  
EVERLASTING KINGDOM, BY THE MERITS OF *his* the  
MOST PRECIOUS DEATH AND PASSION of thy dear Son.  
WE NOW MOST HUMBLY BESEECH THEE, O HEAVENLY

*Holy Spirit,*  
FATHER, SO TO ASSIST US WITH THY grace, THAT WE  
MAY CONTINUE IN THAT HOLY FELLOWSHIP, AND DO  
ALL SUCH GOOD WORKS, AS THOU HAST PREPARED  
FOR US TO WALK IN : THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR  
LORD, TO WHOM, WITH THEE AND THE HOLY GHOST,  
BE ALL HONOUR AND GLORY, WORLD WITHOUT END.  
AMEN.

*Gloria in excelsis as followeth:*  
THEN SHALL BE SAID OR SUNG  $\wedge$  ,

*in the highest,*  
GLORY BE TO GOD on high. AND IN EARTH PEACE,  
GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN. WE PRAISE THEE, WE  
BLESS THEE, WE WORSHIP THEE, WE GLORIFY THEE,  
WE GIVE THANKS TO THEE FOR THY GREAT GLORY,  
O LORD GOD, HEAVENLY KING, GOD THE FATHER  
*and to thee, O God, the only begotten Son Jesu*  
ALMIGHTY.

*Christ ; and to thee, O God, the Holy Ghost.*

O LORD, THE  
ONLY BEGOTTEN SON JESU CHRIST : O LORD GOD,  
*who*  
LAMB OF GOD, SON OF THE FATHER, that TAKEST  
AWAY THE SINS OF THE WORLD, HAVE MERCY UPON  
US : Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy  
upon us. THOU THAT TAKEST AWAY THE SINS OF THE



WORLD, RECEIVE OUR PRAYER. THOU THAT SITTEST AT THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE FATHER, HAVE MERCY UPON US : FOR THOU ONLY ART HOLY, THOU ONLY ART THE LORD. THOU ONLY, O CHRIST, WITH THE HOLY GHOST, ART MOST HIGH IN THE GLORY OF GOD THE FATHER. AMEN.

*Presbyter*

THEN THE Priest OR THE BISHOP, IF HE BE PRESENT, SHALL LET THEM DEPART WITH THIS BLESSING :

THE PEACE OF GOD . . . REMAIN WITH YOU ALWAYS. AMEN.

*According to long existing custom in the Scottish Church, the Presbyter may reserve so much of the Consecrated Gifts as may be required for the communion of the sick, and others who could not be present at the celebration in the church. All that remaineth of the Holy Sacrament, and is not so required, the Presbyter and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, after the blessing, reverently eat and drink.*

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*Appendix.*

*The following may be used :*

Collects to be said after the Offertory . . . Communion, or  
*at*  
 Litany, by THE DISCRETION OF THE MINISTER.

*Collects which may be said after the Collect of the Day, or before the Blessing :*

\*(ASSIST US MERCIFULLY, O LORD, . . . . . AMEN.)

*lasting*

O ALMIGHTY LORD AND EVERliving GOD, . . . AMEN.

*O Almighty Father, well-spring of life . . . . . Amen.*

*O Lord Jesus Christ, before whose judgement-seat Amen.*

\*[The Collect ' Assist Us ', &c., is placed here.]

Grant we beseech thee, Almighty God, . . . . . Amen.

**PREVENT US, O LORD, . . . . . AMEN.**

**ALMIGHTY GOD, THE FOUNTAIN OF ALL**

*who*

**WISDOM, which KNOWEST . . . . . AMEN.**

*The two following collects may be said before the Blessing.*

*O Lord, our God, thou Saviour of the world . . . . . Amen.*

*who*

**ALMIGHTY GOD, which HAST PROMISED TO**

**HEAR THE PETITIONS. . . . . AMEN.**

*For the King, on national anniversaries and on other occasions.*

*Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and*

*power . . . . . Amen.*

*or,*

*Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught. . . . . Amen.*

*Prayers for Certain Festivals and Seasons,*

*which may be said immediately before the Blessing.*

*Advent.*

*Grant, O Almighty God, that as thy blessed Son . . . . . Amen.*

*Christmas-day, and seven days after.*

*O God, who hast given us grace at this time . . . . . Amen.*

*Epiphany, and seven days after.*

*Almighty God, who at the baptism . . . . . Amen.*

*Easter-day, and seven days after.*

*O Lord God Almighty, whose blessed Son . . . . . Amen.*

*Ascension-day, and seven days after.*

*Almighty God, whose blessed Son our Saviour . . . . . Amen.*

*Whitsunday, and six days after.*

*O Almighty God, who on the day of Pentecost. . . . . Amen*

*Trinity Sunday.*

*O Lord God Almighty, . . . . . Amen.*

*Exhortations before Holy Communion.*

*Dearly beloved, on — day next . . . all scruple and doubtfulness.*

*The following may be said, instead of the former, in case the Presbyter shall see the people negligent to come to the Holy Communion.*

*Dearly beloved brethren, on — I intend . . . our heavenly Father.*

*Exhortation at the Holy Communion.*

*Dearly beloved in the Lord, . . . all the days of our life. Amen.*

Upon the holy days, . . . as occasion shall serve.

And there shall be no celebration . . . according to his discretion.

And if there be not about twenty persons . . . communicate with the priest.

And in Cathedral and Collegiate churches . . . cause to the contrary.

And to take away the superstition . . . that conveniently may be gotten.

And if any of the bread or wine remain, the Curate shall have it to his own use.

The bread and wine for the Communion . . . by order of their houses every Sunday.

And note, that every Parishioner shall communicate, . . . at that time to be paid.

Although no order can be so perfectly devised, but it may be of some, either for their ignorance and infirmity, or else of malice and obstinacy, misconstrued, depraved, and interpreted in a wrong part : And yet because brotherly charity willeth, that so much as conveniently may be, offences should be taken away : therefore we are willing to do the same. Whereas it is ordained in the book of common prayer, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants kneeling should receive the holy Communion : which thing

being well meant, for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ, given unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid the profanation and disorder, which about the holy Communion might else ensue : . . . to be in more places than in one at one time.

# LITURGY OF THE HOLY COMMUNION

## IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICA

THE early voyagers to the New World generally had with them a priest who daily celebrated Mass in Latin which every one of the ship's company attended. Both John Cabot, the discoverer of North America, and many who came after him, were devout, God-fearing men. So that when the Church of England repudiated the supremacy of the ecclesiastical authority of Rome, chaplains who accompanied small fishing vessels that came to the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador held Service daily in English and celebrated the Holy Communion according to the English Rite at frequent intervals. A similar code of instructions to that laid down by Cabot for his expedition to Archangel, Russia, in 1553, 'that the morning and evening prayer, with other common services appointed by the King's majesty, and laws of this realm, be read and said in every ship, daily, by the minister in the Admiral',<sup>1</sup> was customarily used for vessels sailing to America.

The fleet which disappeared from the shores of England in 1578 bore the first missionary priest who was to celebrate the English Order of the Holy Communion in America. 'Maister Wollfall,' as the

<sup>1</sup> 30/3.

chronicler calls this Christian pioneer, 'on Winter's Fornace, preached a godly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated also a Communion upon the land, 'at the partaking whereof was the Captain of the *Anne Francis*, and many other Gentlemen, Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the divine mystery was the first sign, seale, and confirmation of Christ's name, death, and passion ever known in these quarters. . . . The said Maister Wollfall made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundry times in severall and sundry ships, because the whole company never meet together at any one place.'<sup>1</sup> This short-lived settlement of gold-seekers was probably on the northern coast of Labrador. The first Communion Service in the territory now included in the United States was probably celebrated by Francis Fletcher, who sailed with Sir Francis Drake as Chaplain in the *Golden Hind* in its famous voyage around the world in 1579. When the ship put into 'a fair baye', identified as Drake's Bay, near Point Reyes, thirty miles north of San Francisco, on the coast of California, for repairs, Mr. Fletcher held a service, probably the Holy Communion, on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1579, at which Sir Francis and the ship's company, as well as some of the native Indians, were present.

In the expedition which set out from England on New Year's Day of 1607 one of the counsellors upon whose shoulders later fell the responsibility of the Colony, was John Smith. From his *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England*,

<sup>1</sup> 30/7.

dedicated to Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, we can form some idea of the condition under which the Service was conducted in the early settlements. 'When I first went to Virginia,' he writes, 'I well remember, wee did hang an awning (which is an olde saile) to three or four trees to shadow us from the Sunne. Our walls were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks ; our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees ; in foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for wee had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new. This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth ; so was also the walls ; the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most parte farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor rain, yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our Minister died. But our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies, We continued two or three yeares after, till more Preachers came.'<sup>1</sup> On the Third Sunday after Trinity, June 21, 1607, the minister first distributed the Sacrament to the group of colonists congregated in the shelter of the old sail. It is splendid to see the practical part the Service played in the life of the community. The chronicler relates, 'Many were the mischiefs that daily sprung from their ignorant yet ambitious spirits, but the good doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher, Mr. Hunt, reconciled them, and caused Captain Smith to be admitted to the Councill'.

<sup>1</sup> 30/45, 46.

He continues, 'The next day all received the Communion'.<sup>1</sup> So important were the Services held to be, that even when danger of the savages left them no leisure for the sermon the rest of the Service was invariably gone through with. And Captain Smith's record, that 'when the common store of oyle, vinegar, sack, and aquavite were all spent'—in the starving time—'saving two gallons of each, the sack was reserved for the Communion Table',<sup>2</sup> indicates how important the Sacrament was in those perilous surroundings.

The rescue of the starving Colony in Virginia was effected by the party under Sir Thomas Gates—the first of Lord De La Ware's expeditions,—but before they made the mainland they were shipwrecked on the Bermudas in 1609. There they were forced to remain for some time. A minister who had been recommended by R. Ravis, then Bishop of London, acted as Chaplain for the company. The account of the expedition tells us that besides 'public Prayer, every Morning and Evening', the Holy Communion was celebrated on the 1st of October and on Christmas Eve, 'at the partaking whereof our Governor was, and the greatest part of our Company'.<sup>3</sup> Later, when Lord De La Ware himself arrived in Virginia he made provisions for the restoration of the church and the installation of a 'Communion Table of the Black Walnut'.

Before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth in 1620 there were Churchmen in New England. Sir Fernando Gorges, a leading member of the Plymouth Company, sent in 1607 a colony which settled on an

<sup>1</sup> 30/46.<sup>2</sup> 30/47.<sup>3</sup> 30/54



island off the coast of Maine. When the ships, the *Mary and John* and the *Gift of God*, anchored off the island, the first care of the colonists was to erect on the shore a large cross. Around it they were grouped on Sunday, August 9, 1607, and took part in the first Christian service in New England. Their minister was the Rev. Richard Seymour, who, clad in surplice and stole, read the Morning Prayer and preached 'a plain practical sermon'. During their residence on the island he officiated in a rude log chapel. In the spring of 1608 the colonists, wearied and discouraged through sickness and death, returned to England.

'The settlers of New England', Dean Hodges points out, 'who landed at Plymouth in 1620, were Separatists who had definitely left the Church of England. But the settlers who landed at Salem in 1630 were members of the Church.' He further gives us to understand that although the Salem colonists dispensed with the Bishop and the Prayer Book it was only the rubric and canons of the English Church that they had broken from and not their old Communion. The Dean is influenced by his large Christian charity in his statement concerning the Salem company. When it had repudiated the threefold ministry, the doctrinal standards of the Church of England, and adopted the principles of the continental reformers as expounded by Robert Brown and John Robinson, and when its members formed themselves into a church after the Independent method, and when their minister, the Rev. Francis Higginson, a priest of the Church of England, submitted to lay ordination, there seems

to have been little of their Churchmanship left.<sup>1</sup> Those who resented intolerance in England, in New England persecuted, deported, and exiled men who did not agree with their newly-found opinion. Witness their treatment of the Brown brothers as recorded below. They became bigots for their own idea of toleration, and woe to any one who opposed it. They decried superstition, and yet Governor Endicott cut the cross from the British standard in dread of its evil influence on the people.

The persistence of Blaxton, a 'clerk in Holy Orders', whose Services are not described, to continue in his use of the Book of Common Prayer drew down the scorn of his fellow townsmen in Boston. Cotton Mather, a learned scholar, whose father was president of Harvard College, 1681-1701, declared, 'Let all mankind know that we came into the wilderness, because we would worship God without that Episcopacy, that common prayer, and those unwarrantable ceremonies, with which the land of our fathers' sepulchres had been defiled; we came hither because we would have our own posterity settled under the pure and full dispensations of the Gospel, defended by the rulers that should be of ourselves'.<sup>2</sup> Mather says, in referring back to Blaxton, 'This man was, indeed, of a particular humor, and he would never join himself to any of our churches, giving this reason for it: "I came from England because I did not like the lord-bishops;

<sup>1</sup> See article on Robert Brown and the Brownists in the *Encycl. Brit.*; *Francis Higginson*, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson; *The Puritan Commonwealth*, by Peter Oliver; *Puritanism*, by Thomas Winthrop Coit.

<sup>2</sup> 24/139.

but I can not join with you because I would be under the lord-brethren." This William Blaxton, who was the first and only white settler of Boston whose house stood, surrounded by a fine apple orchard, upon what is now Boston Common, has been treated with scant courtesy by Puritan writers and historians. An eccentric priest of the Church of England, a graduate of Cambridge University, he had practically given up the ministry for farming. He was mild and inoffensive. As the new-comers wanted his land, and also as he could not agree with them, he finally sold his possessions, which included an important part of the city of Boston. Going through the wilderness into the present State of Rhode Island, he built a house and cleared a large area for a farm and orchard near the city of Providence. Traditionally he is said to have preached to the people from time to time under a large oak near his home, afterward known as the 'Catholic oak'. He also used often to visit Providence, his pockets filled with apples which he gave as rewards to the children for saying the catechism. Although he was on the Shawmut peninsula several years before the arrival of the Winthrop Company, and remained firm in his allegiance throughout, we cannot say with authority that he tried to introduce the Prayer Book Services.

In 1623 the Rev. William Morrell, who was settled at Weymouth, Massachusetts, under the auspices of Captain Robert Gorges, found four persons desiring his ministrations. He is said to have received from the Ecclesiastical Court a commission 'to exercise a kind of superintendence over the churches which are or may be established in New England'. His

leisure while in Massachusetts was spent in writing a Latin poem describing the country and his impression of it. Before long he returned to England. Around Massachusetts Bay, previous to 1630, there were many staunch Churchmen, known as the old planters. Among them was Samuel Marwick, Roger Conant, and Mr. Woodbury. They welcomed the visit of the Rev. Lyford, a priest of the Church in Ireland, who came to Plymouth in 1623. After holding services, baptizing their children, and celebrating the Holy Communion for four years, he went south to Virginia.

We learn from Morton's *New England Memorial*<sup>1</sup> of the efforts of certain Churchmen who came in 1630 to bring with them certain customs of the old country. 'Some of the passengers that came over, observing that the ministers did not at all use the Book of Common Prayer, and that they did administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper without the ceremonies, and that they professed also to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons, by a personal application of the word of God, as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the church, they began to raise some trouble. Of these, Mr. Samuel Browne and his brother were the chief, the one being a lawyer, and the other a merchant, both of them among the number of the first patenters, men of party and post in the place. These two brothers gathered a company together, in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there, sundry times, the Book of Common Prayer was read unto such as resorted thither. The Governor, Mr. Endicott,

<sup>1</sup> p. 147.

taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he convented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the Church of England, that they were separatists, and would be anabaptists, &c. ; but for themselves, they would hold to the orders of the Church of England. The Ministers answered for themselves, that they were neither separatists nor anabaptists ; they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there ; and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their nonconformity in their native land, and, therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. The governor and council and the generality of the people did well approve of the ministers' answers ; and, therefore, finding those two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governor told them that New England was no place for such as they ; and therefore he sent them both back to England, at the return of the ships the same year ; and though they breathed out threatenings, both against the governor and ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it.' So it was that even those who professed to hold with the Established Church preferred to do without the Prayer Book Service.

That there were some Churchmen who still remained in the Bay Colony after Puritan supremacy had been established is shown by a 'Remonstrance and Humble Petition' presented to the Great and General Court in 1646 against the intolerance of the authorities toward all who did not agree with their religious opinion. It was presented by Mr. William Vassall, Mr. Samuel Marwick, Mr. David Yale, and other prominent men of the Colony. The petitioners were sharply rebuked for 'meddling in other people's business'. Mr. Yale, who was a grandson of Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, and a strong Churchman, removed to Rhode Island, and was the first Churchman who lived in Providence. He is the father of Elihu Yale, a benefactor of the College bearing his name. Some of the Churchmen remained in the Colony waiting patiently for the day when they could openly enjoy the Services they loved. Although as early as 1679 the Churchmen of Boston had petitioned that a church might be established in that city, it was not until May 30, 1686, after a change in the government of the Colony, that the Liturgy was publicly read by the Rev. Robert Radcliffe, the first minister successfully established in New England. While Mr. Radcliffe was the first Church of England priest legally settled in Massachusetts, it must not be forgotten that as early as 1636 Sir Fernando Gorges sent the Reverend Richard Gibson to be missionary to the settlement on the coast of Maine and New Hampshire. He lived in that region for more than thirty-five years. Saco and Falmouth were principally inhabited by Churchmen. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a chapel was built for him. The

Rev. Robert Jordan was also a missionary in Maine for some years after 1636, until persecuted and silenced by the Puritan magistrates sent from the Bay Colony, which claimed jurisdiction under its charter, although the southern portion had been granted to Sir Fernando Gorges and the northern to the Earl of Sterling.

The first recorded Communion Service at Boston, in a small room in the Town House, which had reluctantly been granted by the magistrates for the use of the Churchmen of the city, was celebrated on August 8, 1686. It continued to be the place where Services were held until a small building was erected in 1688 and called King's Chapel. The opposition to the introduction of these Services must have been severe. Randolph, a founder of the Church in Boston, who was also a member of the *King's Councill*, writes in his official correspondence, 'I have to all my crimes added this one as the greatest, in bringing the liturgy and ceremonies of the Church of England to be observed amongst us'.<sup>1</sup>

According to the arrangements made by order of the Governor, the Town House was to be shared by the Puritans with the Churchmen. The record for May 10, 1687, reads as follows: 'Mr. Bullivant having been acquainted that May 15th was our Sacrament day, he writt to Mr. Willard that he had acquainted those principally concern'd, and 'twas judged very improper and inconvenient for y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> and his to be at any other House, it being Whit-Sunday, and they must have ye Communion, and y<sup>t</sup> 'twas expected should leave off by 12, and not

return again till y<sup>v</sup> rung ye Bell y<sup>t</sup> might have time to dispose of y<sup>e</sup> Elements. So remembering how long y<sup>v</sup> were at Easter, we were afraid 'twould breed much confusion in y<sup>e</sup> Afternoon, and so on Wednesday concluded not to have our Sacrament, for 'twas in vain to urge their promise. And on ye 8th of May were bid past One a pretty deal.'<sup>1</sup> It was the source of no little grief to Cotton Mather and the other Puritans. But one of their number writes that although the 'Ch<sup>h</sup> of England Men go not to any other House; yet little hinderance to us save as to ringing the first Bell, and straitning ye Deacons in removal of ye Table'.<sup>2</sup> But the Service had not escaped the 'logical' reasoning, that its liturgical connexion with the Roman Mass entailed superstition and idolatry. As Increase Mather, whom we have mentioned as the father of Cotton Mather, proved it to be at the time of the overthrow of the Angros Administration, in his pamphlet, 'The Unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship', wherein he described 'those broken Responds and shreds of Prayer which Priests and People toss between them like Tennis Balls'.<sup>3</sup> In this way the Liturgy struggled through the early days of the northernmost colonies on the eastern coast of America.

Within the Province of Maryland, previous to 1630, Services had been held by clergymen of the Church of England on Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay. The settlement of the Province at St. Mary's in 1634 counted a number of Churchmen among the inhabitants. The names of those who ministered to them until toward the end of the Seventeenth Century

<sup>1</sup> 30/183.<sup>2</sup> 30/184.<sup>3</sup> 30/192.



are not actually known, excepting that of the Rev. William Wilkinson, who came from England in 1650 and was given by Lord Baltimore a plantation of 900 acres, about twenty miles north of St. Mary's. He served faithfully until his death in 1662. Petitions for clergymen were sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury from both men and women prominent in the Province for several years previous to 1685. Before that year the Rev. John Yeo had been officiating in Baltimore County. The Church of England was established by the General Assembly in 1688. It was in response to representations from the few clergymen and vestries, that the Bishop of London appointed in 1696 as his Commissary in Maryland the Reverend Thomas Bray. This man of primitive piety and unselfish devotion was then Rector of Sheldon, Shropshire. He was an admirable parish priest and was noted for his care of the children. For them he wrote his *Catechetical Lectures*, which brought him to the notice of Bishop Compton, who thought that such an admirable parish priest would be well fitted for the difficult office of Commissary. Doctor Bray, after his acceptance, spent four years in preliminary work in England. He informed himself of the condition of the clergymen in Maryland, and determined that there should be a library for the minister in every parish as an inducement for worthy young clergymen to settle in that Province. He made an appeal to the Bishops, Universities, and benevolent laymen. They responded generously. His appeal was an important factor in the formation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1698. It

was to publish books suitable for circulation in the Colonies as well as in England. The plan of the Society was largely drawn up by him. In the nearly 220 years of its existence it has done incalculable good. On December 20, 1699, he sailed for Maryland. Arriving on March 12, 1700, he received a gracious welcome from the Governor and others in authority as well as the clergymen. He held a Visitation in the Treasury at Anapolis, and after that function he travelled through the Province cheering and encouraging both clergymen and laymen. An Act of Assembly, which met after his arrival, provided 'that the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments, with the rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, the Psalter and Psalms of David, Morning and Evening Prayer therein contained be solemnly read, and by all and every minister or reader in every church or other place of public worship within this province'. Bishop Perry says, 'The closing words of this clause proved fatal to the approval of the Act by the Crown'.<sup>1</sup> But in 1702 a law drawn up in England, enacted by the Maryland Assembly, assented to by the Crown, finally established the Church in Maryland, and further provided for the reading of the Prayer Book Services in the established churches. The Commissary returned to England late in 1700, at the request of the Clergymen, to urge the King to approve the Establishment Act. Although he lived over thirty years longer he never came back to the Colonies. His name will always be revered as a founder of the two great missionary societies, the

<sup>1</sup> 30/140.

Christian Knowledge Society and the Venerable Propagation Society, and as a friend and benefactor of the Church in America. By this provision the Communion Service was duly celebrated till the Revolutionary War.

When in 1664 the Dutch Colony of New Amsterdam became the English colony of New York the articles of capitulation provided for an amicable arrangement whereby the Chaplain of the British forces was permitted to share the use of the Dutch church within the Fort. 'This was all the footing that the English Episcopal Church had in New York for more than thirty years.'<sup>1</sup> From Bishop Perry's account one would understand that these Articles provided for the use of the forms of Service used by the Church of England, but there is hardly sufficient reason for drawing that conclusion. This is the distinct stipulation: 'The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their conscience in Divine worship and Church discipline.'<sup>2</sup> The close association of the two religious bodies is illustrated by the declaration of the privileges of 'a Lawfull minister' according to the Dutch minister with his elders and deacons in the city: 'To Major Edmund Andros,' &c., the address declared, 'Noble, High, Honorable Sir—A minister, according to the Order of the Church of England lawfully called, is sufficiently qualified to be admitted to the serving and administering of the Sacraments in a Dutch Congregation belonging to His Majesty's Dominions, having promised to conduct

<sup>1</sup> Brodhead's *History of New York*, ii. 44.

<sup>2</sup> For the Article see *Colonial Documents*, New York, ii. 250-6; *Ecclesiastical Record of the State of New York*, ii. 557-9.

himself in his service according to the constitution of the Reformed Church of Holland.' Dated, New York, October 1675.<sup>1</sup>

The circumstances under which the Minister, Elders, and Deacons of the Dutch Church in the City of New York made the above declaration were as follows. Nicholaus Van Rensselaer, a son of the first patron of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck, a portion of which is now included in the City of Albany, had been ordained in Holland. He went to England as Chaplain to Heer Van Gonph, Ambassador from the States-General of the Netherlands. Under a licence from King Charles II he officiated for the Dutch congregation at Westminster, London. Mr. Van Rensselaer had met Charles when in exile and became a favourite with him. While in London the Dutch Chaplain received Holy Orders from Doctor Earle, Bishop of Salisbury. On April 4, 1672, he applied to the Classis of Amsterdam, 'to be advanced for the churches in foreign lands'. After testimonials as to his character and ability had been presented and a sermon had been delivered before the Classis, he was admitted as an 'expectant'.<sup>2</sup> When Sir Edmund Andros came over as Governor under the Duke of York in the autumn of 1674, after the brief reoccupancy of the Dutch, it is understood Mr. Van Rensselaer accompanied him. He bore a letter of commendation from the Duke of York to the new Governor requesting that Major Andros put him into 'one of the Dutch churches in New York or New Albany, when a vacancy shall happen'.

<sup>1</sup> 30/149, 150.

<sup>2</sup> See *Eccles. Hist. of the State of New York*, i. 623-4.

The Governor placed him at Albany as colleague to Domini Gideon Schuch, who was old and infirm. This assumption of authority over ecclesiastical affairs by the Governor, acting by the command of the Duke, aroused much indignation and comment. It infringed the free exercise of their religion which had been guaranteed by the articles of capitulation in 1664. The churches were under the jurisdiction of the Classis of Amsterdam, and no minister was lawfully settled unless he had been sent or approved by the Classis. The opportunity to vindicate the rights and liberty of the Dutch churches in the Province of New York came in the autumn of 1675. Mr. Van Rensselaer came to New York City in September, and announced that on a certain Sunday he would baptize such children as were brought to him at the Church of Saint Nicholas within the Fort. The minister of New York, the Reverend Wilhelmus Nieuwenhuysen, sent word by one of his Elders, Mr. Jeronimus Ebbing, that he did not look upon Mr. Van Rensselaer as qualified to administer the Sacraments in any Dutch church, or his admittance to the Church at Albany to have been lawful. The two ministers met at Mr. Ebbing's house. Mr. Van Rensselaer produced his letters of orders and other documents. Mr. Nieuwenhuysen maintained his assertion that ordination in the Church of England did not give him the right to officiate in a Dutch church. He must show that ' he had passed his final examination and been ordained to the office of the ministry by the laying on of hands in the Fatherland'. Mr. Van Rensselaer made a formal complaint to the Governor that the minister of New York had denied

that the Church of England was a true Church, and 'had treated the authority and letters of the King and of the Duke of York with contempt'. The Governor summoned the Council to consider these serious charges. After Mr. Nieuwenhuysen and the Elders and Deacons had explained their position, and the submission by Mr. Van Rensselaer of his letters of orders and documents concerning his ministry in London and Albany, it was ordered that Mr. Nieuwenhuysen exhibit his answer to the Council 'on Thursday the 30th instant'. On that day of September he sent it with the substance of the declaration quoted above. He fully defended his position that those who officiated in the Dutch churches must conform to their rules and regulations. After amendment to the form in the text it was accepted by the Council. Mr. Van Rensselaer, on October 2, 1675, made a promise of conformity to the service and discipline of the Reformed Church of Holland. He continued to minister at Albany until 1677, when he was removed. For the remainder of his life he sat in the seat of his father-in-law, Colonel Schuyler. He died in 1678. Although, so far as can be known, he did little toward making the Church of England Services known in the Province, yet such were the preliminaries leading up to the use of the Liturgy of the Eucharist in New York.<sup>1</sup>

The King had made provision in July 1674 for a Chaplaincy in the Fort of New York, but there was no Chaplain appointed until 1678, when the Reverend Charles Wolley arrived and served for two years. It

<sup>1</sup> See *Documentary Hist. of New York*, iii. 526, 527; *Eccles. Hist. of the State of New York*, i. 678, 679.

was at this time that the 'amicable arrangement' mentioned before went into effect. Certain of his successors were men of marked ability—notably, John Miller, who first suggested an American Episcopate; John Sharpe, whose donation of books was the nucleus of the first public library in the city; and the Reverend Robert Jenny, afterwards Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and Commissary of Pennsylvania. The Chaplaincy was not maintained after the departure for England of its incumbent, the Reverend James Orem, about 1725.

In 1685 the Duke of York, on his accession to the throne as James II, wrote among the instructions to his officials in New York, 'You shall take especial care that God Almighty bee devoutly and duely served throughout yo<sup>r</sup> Government; the Book of Common Prayer as it is now established, read each Sunday and Holyday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England'.<sup>1</sup>

While the zeal of the new King was shown in his instruction concerning religion in the Province, there was, outside the City of New York, Albany, and some of the larger towns, much disorder, drunkenness, and disregard of the Lord's Day. There were few ministers of any sort. The only Services of the Church of England were those held in the Fort. A ministry Act passed in September 1693 established parishes in several counties, including New York, to be supported by taxation. It provided that 'a good, sufficient Protestant minister', in some cases a Presbyterian, be chosen for each parish.

<sup>1</sup> *New York Col. Doc.* iii. 372.

The accession of William and Mary four years later made little difference in the ordering of the Church, except that the 'papists' were omitted from the general grant of liberty of conscience. The Prayer Book was still to be used and the blessed Sacrament still to be administered in the conventional English form. But it was not until some time after these instructions that New York had a church with a regular clergyman in charge. The 'communion plate and furniture' for the church was given through the Bishop of London; and many other generous gifts gave the Church a position in the city that it has held to the present day. This first parish of the Church of England in the Province was Trinity Church in the City of New York. Measures were taken for organization as early as 1695, and it received a charter of incorporation, May 6, 1697. Its nominal rector for some years was Doctor Compton, Bishop of London. Its actual incumbent was the Reverend William Vesey, minister of New York, who became legally the rector soon after 1700. Parishes were organized and clergymen sent to them on Long Island and in Westchester County after the formation of the Venerable Propagation Society in 1701. In these churches and those that followed until 1789 the final version of the Communion established in England was used with more or less regularity through the Colony of New York.

The earliest known Services of the Church of England in the Colony in now New Jersey were at Perth Amboy. A stone from the first church, said to have been erected in 1685, is embedded in the chancel wall of the present St. Peter's Church. The first



clergyman whose name has been preserved is the Reverend Edward Portlock, who was in that town for a short time in 1698.

In a memorial 'concerning the state of religion in the Jerseys' in 1700 Colonel Lewis Morris writes to the authorities at home, 'The capital city (i. e. Perth Amboy) was settled from Europe, and we have made shift to patch up the old ruinous (court) house and make a church of it, and when all the Churchmen of the Province are got together we make up about twelve communicants'.<sup>1</sup> Christmas of 1702 Colonel Morris entertained two men, Keith and Talbot, who had crossed on the *Centurion* from England with him, for the purpose of carrying out a missionary scheme in America. They had been sent by 'The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts', which held its first meeting at Lambeth Palace, June 27, 1701; and they had been ordered to 'carefully instruct the people concerning the nature and use of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, as the peculiar institution of Christ, pledges of communion with him, and means of deriving Grace from Him'.<sup>2</sup> According to their instructions, after Keith had preached in the Morris Mansion, Talbot administered the Sacrament, and 'both Mr. Morris and his wife and divers others' communicated. 'Received for the most part with courtesy, preaching in churches, chapels, meetings-houses, private dwellings, or wherever an opportunity offered, "oft again and again drawing crowds to hear, in many instances for the first time"', the church's forms of prayer, administering the sacra-

<sup>1</sup> 30/165.

<sup>2</sup> 30/203.

ments to numbers who had learned from their lips the nature and importance of these means of grace, and in public and private testifying to the teachings and practice of the church of which they were members and ministers, the progress of these two missionary priests was an event in the history of the American Church.' <sup>1</sup>

Mr. Talbot founded in 1703 St. Mary's Church, Burlington, of which he became Rector and Missionary in a wide circuit. He was wise and prudent as well as zealous and untiring. His letters to the Venerable Society are triumphant calls for a greater regard for the Church, 'apud Americanos'. He pleaded for clergymen, books, and above all 'a Suffragan to My Lord of London', who should 'ordain some, confirm others, and bless all'. The enthusiasm of Mr. Talbot and others in the Colonies, who saw the need of an American Episcopate, had a great effect upon the friends of the Colonial Church in England. Plans were drawn up and a fund for the support of a Bishop begun. When the Princess Anne succeeded to the throne on the death of William the Third, on March 8, 1702, she showed a great interest in the welfare of the Church in the Colonies and bestowed upon many parishes Communion plate and other gifts. She approved the effort made for an American Bishop. So certain was the Propagation Society that a Bishop would be sent that it purchased in 1712 a spacious mansion at Burlington for his residence. The death of the Queen, on August 1, 1714, put an end to their high hopes. The efforts to obtain an American Episcopate from the end of the seven-

<sup>1</sup> 30/209.

teenth century to the verge of the Revolution is a sad and pathetic chapter in the history of the American Church.

Mr. Talbot grew weary of the continued slackness in seizing opportunities for establishing parishes and in caring for those already formed. He saw that much was undone that should be done. At length, upon his last voyage to England, in 1722, he was consecrated a Bishop in the Church of God by Doctor Ralph Taylor, a Nonjuring Bishop living in England. He returned to New Jersey and continued his parish work. To whom he made known his episcopal character it is impossible now to ascertain. There has not been found any register of episcopal acts. Whatever were performed must have been done in secret. He had an episcopal ring upon which was an interlaced cipher of his name surmounted by a mitre.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Talbot was deprived of his mission and stipend as soon as rumours reached the Propagation Society of his consecration and Nonjuring sympathies. He still lived, respected and beloved, until his death in 1726, in Burlington. There is no man in the Colonial Church who deserves

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Dr. George Morgan Hill, Rector and Historian of St. Mary's, Burlington, discovered an impression of the ring as the seal upon the will of his widow preserved in the Registry of Wills in Philadelphia about 1876. There is among the Rawlinson manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, an obscure record of it. Recently Mr. Skipton, well known as an historical scholar, looking over the same manuscripts, found in some papers of Bishop Thomas Brett, the learned liturgist and leader among the Nonjurors, a fuller account of John Talbot and his consecration. (See *London Guardian* for December 1916, and *The Living Church* for February 10, 1917.)

more honour and respect for what he did and suffered than the first Rector of Burlington.

Before these two missionaries reached Pennsylvania we read in Humphrey's account of the 'S.P.G.' that a Mr. Evans had baptized 'above 500 men, women, and children, Quakers in Pennsylvania and West Jersey'. He also relates how 'Mr. Evans used to preach two evening lectures at Philadelphia, one preparatory to the Holy Sacrament, on the last Sunday of the month'.<sup>1</sup> Some time earlier we have a letter from 'Mr. I. Arrowsmith, Schoolmaster, to Governor Nicholson', written on March 26, 1698. He speaks of the discouraging conditions, but says, 'We have a full congregation and some very desirous to receive the Sacrament at Easter'. His reference to securing a priest from Maryland for the administration of this Easter Sacrament rather indicates that he was in deacon's orders. The monthly Communion which Mr. Evans prepared his people for is remarked upon by Keith; and he also notes that the converts from Quakerism are frequent partakers of the Holy Communion. On a visit to England in 1708 the Queen presented Mr. Evans with the Communion plate for his church in Pennsylvania.

The petition of William Pitkin, Michael Humphrey, and their associates to the 'Great and General Court' of Connecticut, in October 1664, pleaded their membership in the Church of England as sufficient for them to be 'entertained' in church fellowship with the 'Standing Order', and to have their children baptized. They were 'churchmen' of the same sort as those who first came to Boston and Salem. There

<sup>1</sup> 30/226.

were, however, legal members of the Church of England in the Colony of Connecticut toward the end of the seventeenth century, principally in or near the town of Stratford, but there was no priest of the Church in any neighbouring colony upon whom they could call to celebrate the Communion and other Sacraments. This centre of English Church influence may perhaps be traced from Guilford, one of the original towns of the New Haven Colony, about twenty-five miles east of New Haven. When the Reverend Henry Whitefield led his flock into this region near Long Island Sound and founded a church and town in 1639 by the name of Guilford, he did not submit to lay ordination, claiming that he was already ordained in the Church of England. As a Puritan, but not a Nonconformist, he retained a love for the mother Church and taught his congregation to honour and respect her. The 'travelling missionaries', as they have been called, George Keith and John Talbot, visited New London on a Sunday in September 1702. By invitation of the minister of the 'Standing Order' they preached in the Meeting House. It is probable they did not use the Prayer Book. They made no effort to find out any Churchmen in the Colony, as their journey was already mapped out and led them from New London across the Sound to Long Island.

It was Colonel Caleb Heathcote, Lord of the Manor of Scarsdale in Westchester County, New York, who came to the aid of the little company of Churchmen at Stratford, Connecticut. He was prominent in the affairs of his own Province, a member of the Governor's Council, one of the Vestry of

Trinity Church, New York City, appointed by the Charter, a staunch Churchman, who for his unselfish exertion in aiding the formation of parishes is known as the Father of the Church in Westchester County. He came from an honourable family in England. It is a curious fact that he was Mayor of New York at the same time that his brother, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, was Lord Mayor of London. The Colonel knew Connecticut and was well liked by the authorities of that Colony. Although he was aware of the penalties that were imposed upon those who would not pay their tax for the support of the 'Standing Order' or conform to it, when he saw the indignities which were being endured by the brave Churchmen in the Connecticut town he wrote to the Propagation Society, of which he was a member, concerning them, and announced his intention of visiting them with his Rector, who was also his brother-in-law, the Reverend George Muirson of Rye. The proposed visit was made in April 1707. The Colonel and the minister went on horseback. In writing of it he says that he went fully armed. They were received with joy by the Church people. Mr. Muirson held services and administered Holy Baptism. The Magistrate of Stratford formally forbade him, but Colonel Heathcote showed that they could not, without disloyalty to the Crown, interfere with a service of the Church of England. They did, however, imprison some of the chief Churchmen. Mr. Muirson held services and administered the Holy Communion at frequent intervals until his death in the following year, 1708. (In 1708 the General Court passed an Act allowing 'Sober Dissenters' liberty of worship and the

payment of ministerial taxes to their respective ministers.) A small church was built, to the cost of which Trinity Church, New York, advanced £100. There are records of services in Stratford with celebrations of the Holy Communion by such well-known clergymen as John Talbot, Evan Evans, John Sharpe, and others from 1708 for several years. The parish of Christ Church grew even without a resident minister. With the incumbency of the Reverend George Pigott in 1721, sent as missionary by the Propagation Society, a brighter day dawned for the infant Church in Connecticut. Mr. Pigott became the counsellor of several of the most learned and popular young ministers of the Standing Order who were doubtful about the validity of their ordination. In October 1722, three of them, after a debate with the grave elder ministers, trustees of Yale College, declared for the Church of England. They were the Reverend Dr. Timothy Cutler, Rector of Yale College, Daniel Brown, tutor in that College, and Samuel Johnson, minister of West Haven. They went to England for ordination, where Mr. Brown died of small-pox, to the great grief of his two friends. Dr. Cutler was sent to the new Christ Church, Boston, and Mr. Johnson to Stratford. Mr. Pigott returned to Rhode Island, where he had many interests, and became the minister of King's Church, now St. John's Church, at Providence. Mr. Johnson was a remarkable man, an excellent scholar, and a teacher who influenced and attracted young men. He had been attracted to the Church by the study of a Prayer Book given to him by Samuel Smithson, an aged Churchman living in his native town of Guilford.

He proved himself a most faithful parish priest and a wonderful missionary. In an ever-widening circle, from Stratford as a centre, parishes were formed. Their ministers were Connecticut men who had conformed to the Church from sincere conviction. Among them was Mr. Beach, the brilliant minister of Newtown.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Johnson soon became widely known, not only in New England, but throughout the Colonies. He was the trusted friend and adviser of the officers of the Venerable Propagation Society, and had as his correspondents many of the Bishops and other dignitaries in England. He was intimate with George Berkeley, Dean of Derby, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, when that great philosopher was living in Rhode Island while awaiting the promised endowment from the Crown with which to establish his College for Americans on the Bermuda Islands. The 'mitred saint of Cloyne', as he has been styled, had a great influence upon the spiritual and intellectual life of his American friend. The parsonage on the Housatonic became in effect the first theological Seminary of the American Church, for the Rector of Stratford had living with him for a year or more at a time a succession of the brightest young men in the Colony studying theology. Many of them had been brought into the Church through intercourse

<sup>1</sup> 'On Easter Day, the 9th of April, 1732, the eloquent young independent preacher (Mr. Beach) knelt at the chancel rail of the little church at Stratford, to receive the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, as an avowed member of the Church of England' (30/295). This conversion marks the beginning of a more widespread acceptance of the Liturgy of the Holy Communion. At Newton and Reading we hear from Mr. Beach a few years later of over 100 communicants.



with him. Among his students were Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, Rector of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and the pleader for an American Episcopate, and Dr. John Ogilvie, missionary to the Mohawk Indians and assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York. He is known for his Expository Lectures on the Bible and Bible Classes for Women. In 1752, Dr. Johnson, for the University of Oxford by that time had conferred that deserved honour upon him, was invited by Benjamin Franklin and the other trustees to accept the Presidency of the New University of Pennsylvania. They had chosen him because of his high reputation as the author of many philosophical and educational books. He declined because he had already promised prominent gentlemen in New York City that he would be the head of the proposed college in that city. On July 17, 1754, having left Stratford about three months before, he organized the classes in King's College (now Columbia University) with ten students. The meeting-place was the large vestry room in the Charity School-house of Trinity Church, on the south side of Rector Street, in the rear of the Lutheran Church. It is now part of the site of the Empire Building. Dr. Johnson firmly established the College. After his resignation in 1763 he retired to his beloved Stratford, where he spent the remaining nine years of his life among loyal parishioners.

In and about Hebron, Connecticut, at the time of this revival, twenty families became members of the Church, and at the first administration of Samuel Seabury fourteen received the Sacrament. Samuel Seabury, who ministered to the Churchmen of

Hebron, was the father of the first American Bishop. He was a native of North Groton and a graduate of Harvard College in 1724. Although a licentiate of the Congregational Church in the parish of North Groton for some years, he conformed, and, going to England for ordination, he became in 1733 the first minister of St. James's Church, New London. In 1743 he was put in charge of Saint George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island, where he remained until his death, about 1764. It was through such men as Seabury that the use of the Communion Service was revived and the love for its most traditional form was fostered in Connecticut.

The Liturgy of the Holy Communion in the history of the first colony founded through charity in the reign of George II introduces the men who by force of circumstances became the originators of Methodism. On the 23rd Sunday after Trinity, November 12, 1732, a group of colonists, before leaving England, gathered in the parish church at Milton-on-the-Thames to partake of the Holy Sacrament. The Chaplain of the party, Dr. Herbert, was presented with a chalice and paten for use in the Colony by the Rev. Samuel Wesley. These were replaced in May 1733, when Samuel Quincy arrived in Georgia with a silver Communion Service and other means for the reverent and orderly administration of the Sacraments. Before Quincy left Georgia, John, the son of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, came to Savannah and took up his ministry on March 7, 1736. To the eighteen communicants gathered on the first Sunday in Lent after his arrival Wesley administered the Holy Communion, and at that time he made public his 'design to do so, every Sunday and holy-day

according to the rules of our Church'.<sup>1</sup> We have reason to believe this design was carried out.

Charles Wesley, who had come out with his brother John, sailed back to England, but John Wesley remained. Many instances show his emphasis on the Communion Service. There is noted in his journal for Tuesday, February 1, 1737, that that day 'being the anniversary feast, on account of the first convoy's landing in Georgia', they 'had a session and the Holy Communion'. On Palm Sunday, April 3, 1737, 'and every day in this great holy week', there was 'a sermon and the Holy Communion'. Not only were Saturday evening meetings held for the preparation of the communicants, but efforts were made to increase their numbers. Thus, on Whitsunday, 'four of our scholars (from the charity school Wesley had established in the Colony), after having been instructed daily for several weeks, were, at their earnest and their repeated desire, admitted to the Lord's Table'.<sup>2</sup>

Certain details of John Wesley's life while he was Rector of Christ Church, Savannah, although trivial in themselves, serve to illustrate the part played by the Liturgy of the Church in the community life. Wesley had been refused the hand of the niece of the chief magistrate only a few days before her marriage to William Williamson, another of the colonists, in March 1737. The pastoral relations between Mrs. Williamson and the Rector created a jealousy on the part of her husband which was not able to prevent Mrs. Williamson from attending services of the church. After Mrs. Williamson had

<sup>1</sup> 30/336-9.

<sup>2</sup> 30/340.

received the Sacrament on July the 3rd Wesley took the opportunity to reprove her for certain things she had done. The woman's uncle demanded an apology, which was answered by the Rector's repelling Mrs. Williamson at the first Communion in the following month from coming to the holy Table. A warrant for Wesley's arrest was issued the next day. William Williamson claimed that his wife had been defamed and refused the Sacrament without cause, 'by which the said William Williamson was damaged 1000 pounds sterling'. Wesley's reply to this charge was, 'that the giving or refusing of the Lord's Supper, being a matter purely ecclesiastical, he could not acknowledge their power to interrogate him concerning it'. Nevertheless the case was carried into the Savannah court and became the general topic for community gossip. Among others, the following charges were made against him: 'inverting the order and method of the Liturgy; introducing into the church and Service at the altar, compositions of psalms and hymns not inspected or authorized by any proper judicature; restricting the benefits of the Lord's Supper to a small number of persons, and refusing it to all others who will not conform to a grievous set of penances, confessions, mortifications, and constant attendance on early and late hours of prayer, very inconsistent with the labours and employment of this Colony; administering the Sacrament to boys ignorant and unqualified, and that notwithstanding their parents and nearest friends remonstrating against it, and accusing them of disobedience and other crimes; refusing to administer the holy Sacrament to well-disposed and

well-living persons, unless they should submit to confessions and penances for crimes, which they utterly refuse, and whereof no evidence is offered.'<sup>1</sup> The final result was that Wesley gave up the work of the Venerable Propagation Society in Georgia and returned to England.

The ship which took Wesley back to England passed a transport which carried Whitefield to Georgia. After receiving the Communion at St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, London, Whitefield had gone to Deptford, and from there on the 30th of December, 1737, had embarked on the *Whitaker*, which reached Savannah on May 7, 1738. On his arrival we have the record that 'Mr. Whitefield being a little recovered (for he had suffered from the voyage), attempted to officiate at Church; but by reason of his weakness was obliged to stop at the Communion Service'.<sup>2</sup> Gradually the new preacher won for himself in America the same distrust from Churchmen that he had won in England. But as the churches closed at his coming the meeting-houses opened with sympathy and support. Yet to the end of his life Whitefield remained in the Communion of the English Church and used the Prayer Book Liturgy. Besides Whitefield and the Wesleys there were other priests who celebrated the Eucharist for the people of Georgia in the Use then ordered by the English Government.

In 1700, forty years before Whitefield was called up for trial in Charlestown, South Carolina, the Rev. Ed. Marston, M.A., was given charge of the Church in that city. The twenty lay commissioners — 'eleven of the twenty were never known to receive

<sup>1</sup> Tyerman's *Wesley*, i. 155, 156.

<sup>2</sup> 30/347.

the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,' according to Marston's account—succeeded in ousting him, and his place was filled by a Commissary of the Bishop of London, the Rev. Gideon Johnson, M.A. On the 5th of July, 1710, Johnson writes the Missionary Society, 'There is nothing that I more earnestly and frequently strive for than to bring the people to a just sense of their duty concerning the Lord's Supper; for I certainly conclude, if I can once persuade them to receive frequently I can easily persuade them to anything else that is holy and good. Many of our Church folks have been prevailed upon to receive which perhaps were never known to receive before.'<sup>1</sup> When later an epidemic was thinning the ranks of the community he informs the Society, 'There is no article I have oftener or with greater vehemence pressed in my sermons than the necessity of communicating frequently; and finding that my addresses this way did not altogether produce the desired effect, I did by private application when I visited the sick, especially press home this point, and I thank God, with a great deal of success. Many of those that were prevailed upon to resolve on receiving, died before they could do it, and others died after they had received it. Many are still sick that have received and have promised solemnly to be constant communicants for the future, and though, as I have said, the number of my parishioners has been considerably lessened by death, yet, were they all well that were alive the number of communicants would be greater than formerly.'<sup>2</sup> Such persistence as this must have had

<sup>1</sup> 30/380.<sup>2</sup> 30/381.

its good effect on the use of the Liturgy not only in Charlestown but throughout the Colony.

To Francis Nicholson, who was appointed temporary Governor of South Carolina in 1720, the King sent 'Instructions' to 'take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout the government, the Book of Common Prayer, as by law established, read each Sunday and Holy-Day, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England'.<sup>1</sup> In 1740, as we have stated above, Whitefield was brought before the ecclesiastical court in St. Philip's Church on July 15, to answer the charge of certain 'excesses, and chiefly for omitting to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion book'.<sup>2</sup> As a result, when he again came to Charlestown, 'being denied the Sacrament at the Church', he administered it thrice in a private house, 'where Baptists, Church Folks, and Presbyterians, all joined together, and received according to the Church of England, excepting two who desired to have it sitting'.<sup>3</sup> The Communion Liturgy, however, was used with correctness and regularity through South Carolina where it was possible.

It was the Communion Service as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England according to the revision of 1661 that was being used in America at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Its use was naturally limited by the small number of priests. Although some 1,000 'clerks in Holy Orders' are said to have taken part in the religious work in the American colonies from time to time, in all the thirteen states, just before they

<sup>1</sup> 30/384.

<sup>2</sup> 30/386.

<sup>3</sup> 30/387.

finally declared their independence, we are told there were less than 300 parishes and not enough clergymen to go round. This was largely due to the timidity and negligence of ecclesiastical authorities in England. 'Truly an enviable state of things for the Church of England in America, always unpopular, but now, in consequence of the impending crisis, almost hated, with no authoritative guide save a man beyond the seas—Bishop Sherlock, of London—who performed his duty only in the most perfunctory way, because there was no escape for him, and who would not even take the necessary steps to legalize the small amount of jurisdiction which he consented to exercise!' <sup>1</sup> The remonstrance against such treatment by the people 'at home', which resulted in a political separation, also left the missionary Church free to work out its future. The 4th of July, 1776, marks the birth of the new nation and the approximate middle point in the history of the Anglican Church in America.

The Declaration of Independence placed the clergymen of the once 'established' Church in a difficult position in regard to their allegiance to King George III, and made it treasonable to continue to pray for the King in their Communion Service. Of those who did not leave the country, some independently followed the action of the Church Convention of Virginia, which adjusted the political clauses in the Liturgy to suit the changed conditions, while others accepted the only other alternative of refusing to administer the Sacrament and carry on the Services. On October 31, 1776, the Reverend Dr. Inglis, who afterwards became the first bishop

<sup>1</sup> 15/126.



of Nova Scotia, wrote the Secretary of the Propagation Society from New York, ' This declaration (of Independence) increased the embarrassments of the clergy. To officiate publicly, and not to pray for the king and royal family according to the liturgy, was against their duty and oath, as well as the dictates of their conscience ; and yet to use the prayers for the king and royal family would have drawn inevitable destruction on them. The only course they could pursue, to avoid both evils, was to suspend the public exercise of their function, and shut up their churches. This accordingly was done. It is very remarkable that, although the clergy of those provinces I have mentioned (Maryland, New York, Connecticut, and so far as I learn in the other New England Colonies) did not, and indeed could not, consult each other on this interesting occasion, yet they all fell into the same method of shutting up their churches. The venerable Mr. Beach of Connecticut only to be excepted, if my information be right, who officiated as usual after independency was declared, and, being warned of his danger, declared, with the firmness and spirit of a primitive confessor, " That he would do his duty, preach, and pray for the king till the rebels cut out his tongue". All churches in Connecticut (Mr. Beach's excepted), as well as those in this province, except in this city, Long Island, and Staten Island, where his Majesty's arms have penetrated, are now shut up. This also is the case with every church in New Jersey ; and I am informed by a gentleman lately returned from Pennsylvania, who had been a prisoner there for some time, that the churches in the several Missions of that Province

are shut up, one or two excepted, where the prayers for the king and royal family are omitted. The churches in Philadelphia are open. How matters are circumstanced in the more southerly colonies I cannot learn with any certainty; only that the provincial Convention of Virginia have taken upon themselves to publish an edict, by which some collects for the king are to be wholly omitted in the liturgy, and others altered, the word "commonwealth" being substituted for the king.<sup>1</sup> Without losing the loyalty to the Mother Church they were forced to have recourse not only to a change in organization but to an adjustment of the Liturgy.

This loyalty was not universal among Christian teachers in the Colonies. It is curious to note that the Teutonic oppression as represented in the character of King George III had pitted against it the Teutonic military genius as it appeared in the person upon whom Washington largely depended for his successful campaign, the Baron von Steuben.

The support given Washington by most of the free church leaders can be judged by the spirit of ministers in Virginia in the story of the Reverend Peter Muhlenberg of Shenandoah County, who had raised a regiment from his parish. It is said that in his farewell sermon, after quoting from Ecclesiastes, 'To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven, . . . a time of war!' he threw off his preacher's gown and walked forth in officer's uniform at the head of his people. His father, Henry M. Muhlenberg, was a founder of the German Lutheran Church in America. General

<sup>1</sup> 30/460.

Washington, it must be remembered, acted throughout in consistency with his English instincts and remained until his death a loyal supporter of the Anglican Church and her traditional Liturgy. At a time when the commander-in-chief of the 'rebel' forces was bringing reinforcements to New York, a Mr. Bloomer, who had been left in charge of the parish during the Rector's absence, relates the following: 'Soon after Washington's arrival he attended our church; but on Sunday morning, before divine service, one of the rebel generals called at the Rector's house (supposing the latter was in town), and not finding him, left word that he came to inform the Rector that General Washington would be at church and would be glad if the violent prayers for the king and royal family were omitted. This message was brought to me, and, as you may suppose, I paid no regard to it. On seeing that General not long after, I remonstrated against the unreasonableness of his request, which he must know the clergy could not comply with, and told him further, that it was in his power to shut up our churches, but by no means in his power to make the clergy depart from their duty. This declaration drew from him an awkward apology for his conduct, which I believe was not authorized by Washington.'<sup>1</sup>

The decisive outcome of the Revolution placed the loyalists who remained in the United States in an absurd situation. The clergymen had no choice but final submission to the new conditions. The Maryland Church Convention of 1783 petitioned the General Assembly, on May 13, 'that the said clergy

<sup>1</sup> 30/461.

might have leave to consult, prepare and draft a bill', which would enable them 'to make such alterations in the liturgy and service as might adapt the same to the revolution, and for other purposes of uniformity, concord, and subordination to the State'. And on August 13 of the same year was set forth 'A Declaration of Certain Fundamental Rights and Liberties of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland', as independent of the Church of England.<sup>1</sup> The Liturgy of the Church was made inoffensive to the new government by adjustments of this sort throughout the country, but there still remained, before the Celebration of the Eucharist and other functions of the Church could be assured in America, the question for the ecclesiastical government of this vast portion of the Bishop of London's former diocese.

A year before the Church of Maryland had used for the first time officially the title that was later to be applied to the entire Church in the United States, the man who later became the Bishop of Pennsylvania proposed a temporary means for carrying on the Church in a pamphlet entitled *The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered*. On this subject the author, Dr. White, received a letter dated July 26, 1783, from Dr. Alexander Murray, a clergyman who had gone from Pennsylvania to London to preserve his allegiance to the King. 'If, then, you plead necessity for Presbyterial Ordinations, it is a necessity of your own making, which can never justify such an extraordinary step, which will necessarily give rise to new divisions and sects in your young States, and these formidable ones. You may expect

<sup>1</sup> 14/ix.

thousands of Emigrants who will choose the Sacraments from the hands of ministers episcopally ordained, and will continue, as formerly, to call such from England or Nova Scotia to supply their spiritual necessities.' <sup>1</sup> The first definite step toward the solution of this problem was taken by ten clergymen of Connecticut.

The Church in Connecticut had always had as its leaders men of strong convictions, trained in the best school of English Churchmanship, before the coldness and deadness of the Georgian era had almost stifled its witness to primitive piety and Catholic truth. It had seen the plea for an American Episcopate, embodied in pathetic addresses to the Archbishops and Bishops in England, contemptuously brushed aside by the civil authorities at the behest of crafty politicians and Nonconformist opposition. It knew how much the Church in America had suffered from this indifference. The success of the Revolution had made Connecticut one of the thirteen free and independent states. It had even as a colony a larger measure of independence than any of the other colonies. It had granted almost absolute freedom of worship. The Church could now act without even a shadow of constraint. It is characteristic that she did not spend her energies upon issuing a declaration of principles and an organization which would necessarily be essentially presbyterian and congregational. She knew the Ignatian maxim: 'Let nothing be done without the Bishop.' Her first care was to obtain some godly and learned man to be ruler of

<sup>1</sup> 33/12.

the Church in Connecticut, that he might 'set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city'. It had been for many years the custom of the clergy to meet in voluntary convention. Such a convention was appointed to be held in the glebe house at Woodbury, the home of John Rutgers Marshall, Rector of St. Paul's Church and missionary in the region round about, on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1783. While the war was practically over and all were awaiting the announcement from the throne by King George that he acknowledged the independence of his former colonies, the result of the pressure upon him by his ministers to make the declaration was still unknown when the Convention met. Before the clergy set out from their various parts of the Colony to make their way over the rough and muddy roads of early spring to the little town in Litchfield County, they had secured the hearty approval of prominent lay people. The records of that memorable Convention are not available. We only know that the Reverend Abraham Jarvis, Rector of Christ Church, Middletown, afterwards the second Bishop of the Diocese, was the Secretary. Earnest was the deliberation before they selected, in the fear of God, and with a solemn sense of responsibility, Jeremiah Leaming, Rector of Norwalk, who had suffered for his loyalty to Church and Crown, to be their Bishop and to have the perilous honour of seeking consecration from the English authorities. Should he by reason of age and infirmities decline, they desired that the Reverend Dr. Samuel Seabury, Rector of Staten Island, New York, a native of Connecticut, whose learning,

vigour, and force of character they knew, should make the voyage to England to bring back as the Apostle of their New World, 'a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy'. At the request of his brethren Mr. Jarvis went to New York City, where both the clergymen were then living among the refugees under the protection of the British garrison. Mr. Leaming felt obliged to decline. Although Dr. Seabury accepted after consulting with friends, he foresaw many and great difficulties in the way. More than a year, after his arrival in London, was spent seeking to remove the objections of the Bishops to act independently of the State and awaiting an Act enabling the Bishops to consecrate without requiring the oath of supremacy and conformity. After nearly a year of courteous evasion he turned to seek the Apostolic Succession elsewhere. Dr. Routh, President of Magdalen College, learning Dr. Seabury thought of going to the Bishops on the Scandinavian Peninsula, advised his going rather to Scotland, for there he declared it would be possible to obtain valid succession. So it was that he was compelled to turn to the Bishops of the Church in Scotland of the Nonjuring succession, as he had been instructed in case of necessity by the Colonial Convention. They were kind and brotherly and agreed at once to consecrate him.

The year 1784 witnessed the rapid drawing together of Churchmen in the States. The third article of the Pennsylvania Convention on May 24-5 provided 'that the doctrine of the Gospel be maintained as now professed by the Church of England; and uniformity of worship continued, as near as may

be, to the liturgy of the said Church'.<sup>1</sup> On September 8 we find the clergymen of Massachusetts and Rhode Island meeting in Boston to accept the principles of the Pennsylvania Convention, but they add, 'We are extremely anxious for the preservation of our Communion and the continuance of an uniformity of doctrine and worship without a common head'. And on October 6-7, when delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut (the delegate from Connecticut to this preliminary Convention in New York, the Reverend John Rutgers Marshall, did not vote, as his State was awaiting its Bishop), New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, met in convention at New York, they agreed, as their fourth Article, 'That the said Church maintain the doctrine of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England and shall adhere to the liturgy of the said church as far as shall be consistent with the American revolution and the Constitutions of the respective states'.<sup>2</sup> While the clergy in America were generally reasserting their communion with the Church in England the Bishop Elect of Connecticut was meeting with success in his mission to Scotland.

On the 23rd Sunday after Trinity, November 14, 1784, in the upper room used as a chapel in the house of Dr. John Skinner, Bishop Coadjutor of Aberdeen, in Long Acre, Aberdeen, Samuel Seabury was made a Bishop in the Church of God by Robert Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus, Arthur Petris, Bishop of Moray and Ross, and John Skinner, Bishop Coadjutor of Aberdeen. The long waiting was over and a brighter day was dawning for the Church in

<sup>1</sup> 14/x.

<sup>2</sup> 14/xiv.



America. The sermon, vigorous and telling, was preached by Bishop Skinner. We are told there were present ' a considerable number of respectable clergymen and a great number of laity ' .<sup>1</sup>

As a return for the confidence the Scottish Church had placed in him, Bishop Seabury agreed to consider seriously the Liturgy used at that time in Scotland as a pattern for the future Use in America by signing with the three bishops a concordate, of which the following is an important article. ' Article V. As the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or administration of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal bond of union among Christians, as well as the most solemn act of worship in the Christian Church, the Bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little variance here as possible : and though the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can, consistently with peace and prudence, to make the celebration of this venerable mystery conformable to the most primitive doctrine and practice in that respect, which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion Office, and which it has been the wish of some of the most eminent divines of the Church of England, that she also had more closely followed than she seems to have done since she gave up her first reformed Liturgy, used in the reign of King Edward VI, between which and the form used in the Church of Scotland, there is no difference in any point, which the Primitive Church reckoned essential

<sup>1</sup> 29/27.

to the right ministrations of the Holy Eucharist. In this capital article, therefore, the Eucharist service, in which the Scottish Bishops so earnestly wish for as much unity as possible, Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious view of the Communion Office recommended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine standards of antiquity, to give his sanction to it, and by gentle methods of argument and persuasion to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice, without the compulsion of authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former custom on the other.’<sup>1</sup>

Such revision of liturgy might be effected in the new-forming organization of the Anglican Communion. Already there was appearing a desire for conservative change in other parts of the Service than those affected by the new governments. The Church in Virginia, for example, came together on May 18–23, 1785, and showing some dissatisfaction in the creeds then used in the services, expressed its opinion that, ‘Should a change in the Liturgy be proposed, let it be made with caution : . . . We wish, however, that those (prayers) which exist may be estimated according to their utility.’<sup>2</sup> Although Bishop Seabury left England in January 1785, he spent some time with loyalist friends and relations in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and did not arrive at New London until late in June. This was to be his future home as it had been that of his boyhood. He had accepted the rectorship of St. James’s Church, his father’s old parish. The small salary that he

<sup>1</sup> *Documentary Hist. of the Church in Conn.*, ii. 248–50 ; 29/28 ; 14/xii.

<sup>2</sup> 14/xiv.

received, with his half pay as Chaplain of the King's American Regiment, of which Judge Edmund Fanning was Colonel, and the annual gift of a modest sum from a few friends in London, made up a very moderate support. He had exhausted his small fortune in his quest of the Episcopate.

The clergymen of the Diocese were summoned to a Convention at Middletown on August 2 to welcome and recognize their Bishop and to take such other action as might seem necessary. Eleven were present, together with Dr. Samuel Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, Mass., afterwards the second Bishop of Massachusetts, and Dr. Benjamin Moore, an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York City, afterwards second Bishop of New York. These last brought affectionate greeting from their brethren in those States. The Reverend Dr. Leaming was chosen President and Mr. Jarvis, Secretary. Bishop Seabury appeared and on request produced his letters of Consecration, which were then read, and the Convention then formally declared 'that he had been duly and canonically consecrated a Bishop by the Bishops of the Church of Scotland'. The Convention, after the Bishop had withdrawn, considered the Address to be made to their Diocesan. At eight o'clock the next morning the draft of the Address was approved. Four of the clergymen were appointed to go to the parsonage, where 'Mr. Jarvis in the name of the clergy declared to the Bishop their confirmation of their former election of him and they now acknowledged and received him as their Bishop. Then the Bishop returned his answer of acceptance.' The Bishop with the delegated clergy proceeded to Christ Church,

where the clergy and a large congregation of lay people awaited them. When the Bishop had been 'seated in his chair at the altar, the clergy assembled at the rail'. The Reverend Bela Hubbard, Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, read the Address, after which the Bishop read his Answer. Then the clergy kneeling at the rail received the Apostolic blessing.<sup>1</sup> This was the reverent and dignified manner in which the first Bishop in the United States was received by his Diocese.

Immediately after his reception the Bishop ordained as deacons, Henry Van Dyke, Philo Shelton, Ashbel Baldwin of Connecticut, and Colin Ferguson of Maryland. The Ordination Sermon was preached by Dr. Leaming. When the Convention, which had resumed its session for a short time after the service, was dissolved by the Bishop he then for the first time summoned the clergy to meet him in *Convocation*, a term peculiar to Connecticut, at five o'clock. At the adjournment of its session the next day for a service, Dr. Moore preached and the Bishop delivered his first charge. In the afternoon it continued the discussion of the changes which should be made in the Book of Common Prayer. Before the Convocation was adjourned Jarvis and Bowden of Connecticut and Parker of Massachusetts were asked to form a committee with the Bishop to suggest changes in the Prayer Book at the next meeting. Nine days later the altered prayers for the State were set forth. These State Prayers were accepted by a Convention meeting September 7-8,

<sup>1</sup> This narrative is condensed from a contemporary account found in a Memoir of Bishop Jarvis in *The Evergreen*, iii. 152.

1785, at Boston, which represented the opinion of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. A few other changes in the Communion Office were placed on the Journal at the time, until the decisions of other states might be considered.

In August 1785, Bishop Seabury had sent Dr. (later Bishop) White of Philadelphia the alterations to which the Connecticut clergymen were willing to conform, and remarked that, 'Should more be done, it must be a work of time and great deliberation'.<sup>1</sup> But the clergymen of the Middle and Southern States were not as ready to accept Bishop Seabury's ideas on liturgical revision as their brother ministers in New England had been. His ardent loyalty to the Crown hardly recommended him to patriots like Provoost of New York. Among others Dr. William Smith, whose orders had been conferred in Scotland, 'had been opposed to the Non-Juring Bishops in Scotland communicating the Episcopate to Connecticut; and he had said some things not very complimentary to the candidate from this state, in his steps to reach the apostolic office'.<sup>2</sup> This question of the validity of the Non-Juring succession influenced the clergymen outside New England to seek their own bishops directly from England.

At Convocation on the 14th of September, 1785, we hear that, 'the Church people in Connecticut were much alarmed at the thought of any considerable alteration'. This concern was in reference to the first of the General Conventions of the Church, which three days later met in Christ Church, Philadelphia. Delegates from New York, New Jersey,

<sup>1</sup> 29/29.

<sup>2</sup> 29/40.

Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina were present, but neither Bishop Seabury nor any delegates from New England appeared. ' Dr. William Smith was appointed Chairman of a Committee on the Revision of the Prayer Book, &c. Beginning their work on Tuesday, by Saturday they were able to report a Constitution and a Prayer Book ; and on the following Wednesday the Convention ordered the publication of the New Prayer Book. Dr. Smith took the opportunity in the sermon which closed the Convention to speak of the Committee's work of revision. ' We stood arrested', he said, ' at an awful distance. It appeared almost sacrilege to approach the porch or lift a hand to touch a single point, to polish a single corner, or to clear it from its rust of years.'<sup>1</sup>

The large edition of the Book printed in April 1786 according to the Committee's suggestions, Dr. White remarks, ' did not well consist with the principle of mere proposal', and ' seemed a stretch of power designed to effect the introduction of the Book into actual use, in order to prevent a discussion of its merits'. This, together with its use by the Convention and afterwards by the ministers of Philadelphia, which served ' to confirm the opinion of its being to be introduced with a high hand', Dr. White calls the ' errors' which accounted for much of the opposition to it.<sup>2</sup> It might be said that ' the Thanksgiving for the Fourth of July in all probability is one principal cause of the opposition'. Poor as the sale of books was, the opposition came near causing a schism in the Church. And yet the

<sup>1</sup> 31/91.<sup>2</sup> 33/59.

preface of this 'Proposed Book'—for it had still to be ratified—declares, 'It is far from the intention of this Church to depart from the Church of England, any farther than local circumstances require, or to deviate in anything essential to the true meaning of the 39 Articles'.<sup>1</sup>

Before this First General Convention, the congregation at King's Chapel, Boston, had provided themselves with a revised Prayer Book of their own on June 19, 1785. A varied history led up to this publication. After the departure of the Reverend Dr. Henry Caner, Rector of King's Chapel, Boston, in April 1776, King's Chapel was closed during the greater part of the Revolution. Many of its prominent members were loyalists and left the city. Their estates were confiscated and even their pews in King's Chapel sold. When King's Chapel was opened again there were 'proprietors' who were not Churchmen. New England at that time had come largely under the influence of Dr. Joseph Priestley, an eloquent Unitarian and well known for his scientific discoveries. Some of the oldest Congregational Churches had become Unitarian. Mr. James Freeman, who was studying for Holy Orders, was made reader at King's Chapel. He was a young man of great attainments and much liked by the congregation. He had partially adopted Dr. Priestley's views and found many in the Chapel who agreed with him. Under his guidance the Book of Common Prayer was altered by leaving out any mention of Our Blessed Lord as God. Other changes were made to conform it to the Unitarian principles. The Book

<sup>1</sup> 14/xxii.

is Unitarian through and through. Some time after, Mr. Freeman sought Holy Orders from Bishop Provoost, who indignantly refused. Mr. Freeman then openly avowed himself a Unitarian and was congregationally ordained by the wardens of the Chapel. Then what had been the first permanent parish of the Church in New England became a Unitarian place of worship.

The Preface of this first peculiarly American Prayer Book, used at King's Chapel, states, 'The Liturgy, contained in this volume, is such, that no Christian it is supposed, can take offence at, or find his conscience wounded in repeating. The Trinitarian, the Unitarian, the Calvinist, the Arminian, will read nothing in it which can give him any reasonable umbrage.'<sup>1</sup> This radical instance must not be thought typical of the Church in Massachusetts. It was a regret, to be sure, to Dr. Parker that the Connecticut ministers were not willing to go as far as his Convention in Boston went in the Revision, but he had hoped that the ministers who met in Philadelphia would go no further. Bishop Seabury wrote him on November 28, 1785, when the Philadelphia Convention had been in session for a month, 'Between the time of our parting at Middletown and the clerical meeting at New Haven, it was found that the Church people in Connecticut were much alarmed at the thoughts of any considerable alterations being made in the Prayer Book; and upon the whole, it was judged but that no alterations should be attempted at present, but to wait till a little time shall have cooled down the

<sup>1</sup> Proctor's *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 164.



tempers and conciliated the affections of people to each other. And since the convention at Philadelphia, which, as report says, has abrogated two creeds and nineteen articles, and taken great liberties with the prayers, &c., we are more apprehensive of proceeding to any alterations.'<sup>1</sup>

The General Convention was naturally followed by the various State Conventions. On April 4, 1786, the Convention of Maryland issued a recommendation on the Creed and suggested a Prayer of Sanctification before the Institution in the Communion Service. Many of the proposed alterations were depreciated by the New Jersey Convention on May 19, 1786. Two days later the Pennsylvania ministers urged the restoration of the Nicene Creed and the Prayer of Consecration. On May 29, Virginia chiefly objected to the rubric in the new Book directing the minister to repel notorious evil livers from the Holy Communion. 'The offensive matter was not the precise provision of the rubric, but that there should be any provision of the kind, or power exercised to the end contemplated.' South Carolina at the same time suggested a verbal omission in the Apostles' Creed; and the New York Convention on June 14 merely deferred the consideration of the Book. The Convention at Boston, which had all this time been waiting for the decisions of the other Conventions, finally adjourned on July 20 with the resolution that, 'As there are some things in which we disagree, it was thought best, to leave it optional with the several churches, to leave it optional which they like best, until we become

<sup>1</sup> 29/30.

complete in our officers and one common liturgy is established by the first order of the clergy to whom alone, we are of the opinion, this matter appertains'.<sup>1</sup> After a correspondence of Dr. Smith and John Jay, First Chief Justice of the United States of America, with the English Bishops who were wondering how far the Americans proposed to continue the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the Church of England, the Second General Convention meeting June 20-26, 1786, was finally able to send a reassuring reply to their insistence on the integrity of the Apostles' Creed, and at least the restoration of the Nicene Creed.

A more definite step was taken independently by Bishop Seabury. On September 22, 1786, he expressed his view that 'Liturgies are left more to the prudence and judgement of the governors of the Church; and the primitive practice seems to have been that the bishop did, with the advice no doubt of his Presbyters, provide a liturgy for the use of his diocese'. Accordingly he brought before the Convocation of Connecticut at that time a Communion Office based on the Scottish Liturgy of 1764, which differed from the English Liturgy in this Office more than in any other part of the Prayer Book. This he recommended without any attempt to force its use. And we are given to understand that 'the Connecticut clergy of that period became very much attached to it, not only from the recommendation of their Bishop, but from the conviction that this order was in more exact conformity with the earliest usage of the Christian Church'.<sup>2</sup> 'It

<sup>1</sup> 14/xxii.

<sup>2</sup> 29/36.

seems to have been almost, if not quite, universally adopted by the clergy in Connecticut',<sup>1</sup> and although it must have been generally given up four years later, in some places it was used long afterwards.

The General Convention which met at Wilmington, Del., October 10, 1786, received an exhortation from the English Bishops to 'restore to its integrity the Apostolic Creed, in which you have omitted an article, merely as it seems from misapprehension of the sense in which it is understood by our Church; nor can we help adding, that we hope you will not think it but a decent proof of the attachment you profess to the services of our liturgy to give the other two creeds a place in your Book of Common Prayer, even though the use of them should be left discretionary'. But to the Convention it was 'a matter of surprise that the only thing which looked like a condition made on the subject of the Common Prayer Book, was the restoring of the clause concerning the Descent into Hell in the Apostles' Creed'. However, the clause was rejected together with the whole of the Athanasian Creed. The other measures of this Convention caused the congregation of King's Chapel, Boston, to give up hopes of joining in the union of the State Churches.

Perhaps this rejection of the English Bishops' appeal influenced their concession to an American Episcopate. The consecration of White and Provoost, who have been mentioned above, in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, London, on February 4, 1787, added to the influence for retaining the English

<sup>1</sup> 14/xxiii.

Liturgy, as the consecration of Seabury had given weight to a desire for the Scottish restorations. The following letter of Bishop White's, written after his return in reply to Bishop Seabury's greeting, one might venture to say, shows some influence of English advice. 'As to ye Liturgy, if it should be thought adviseable by ye general body of our Church to adhere to ye English Book of Common Prayer (ye political parts excepted), I shall be one of ye first, after ye appearance of such a disposition, to comply with it most punctually. Further than this, if it should seem ye most probable way of maintaining an agreement among ourselves, I shall use my best endeavors to effect it. At ye same time, I must candidly express my opinion, that ye review of ye Liturgy would tend very much to ye satisfaction of most of ye members of our communion, and to its future success and prosperity. The worst evil which I apprehend from a refusal to review is this, that it will give great advantage to those who wish to carry ye alteration into essential points of doctrine. Revised it will unquestionably be in some places ; and ye only way to prevent its being done by men of ye above description is, ye taking it up as a general business. I have been informed that you, sir, and our brethren in Connecticut, think a review expedient, although you wish not to be in haste in ye matter. Our brethren in Massachusetts have already done it. The Churches in ye States southward of you have sufficiently declared their sentiments ; for even those which have delayed permitting ye use of ye new Book, did it merely on ye principles of ye want of ye Episcopal order among

them. signed : William White—Philadelphia, May 21, 1787.’<sup>1</sup>

On July 28, 1789, the General Convention which was to pass upon and establish the first Prayer Book of the United Church in America assembled at Philadelphia. On August 5 the Reverend Dr. William Smith of Maryland, whose antagonism to Bishop Seabury and his New England clergymen was so pointed, moved that, ‘it be proposed to the churches in the New England States to meet the churches of these States with the said three Bishops (White, Provoost, and Seabury), in an adjourned convention, to settle certain articles of union among all the churches’.<sup>2</sup> The Convention met on September 29, and on October 3, according to a modification in the constitution, the Bishops sat in a separate House. It might be noted here that the general attitude of the Bishops was that the English Book was the official Prayer Book of the American Church as opposed to the Deputies’ view, ‘that there were no forms of prayer, no offices, no rubrics, until they should be formed by the Convention now assembled’.<sup>3</sup> It was proposed by the New England Deputies, however, led by Dr. Parker, ‘that the English Book should be the ground of the proceedings held, without any reference to that set out and proposed in 1785’.

The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies almost immediately voted the appointment of a Committee, ‘to prepare an order for the administration of the Holy Communion’. The day after Bishops Seabury and White (Provoost had been prevented from attending), October 9, had ‘prepared their

<sup>1</sup> 33/80.

<sup>2</sup> 29/37.

<sup>3</sup> 14/xxviii.

proposals' on the Communion, the Committee made its report. October 13 the Lower House agreed to this report, and the following day the Bishops returned it with certain amendments, one of which being withdrawn by them, the amended report was accepted. Finally on October 14, 1789, the agreement of both Houses established the present American Communion Office, and on August 1, 1790, the complete American Prayer Book was set forth without opposition.

The following comments from Bishop White's *Memoirs* describe the Convention: 'In the Service for the Administration of the Communion, it may perhaps be expected that the great change made in restoring to the Consecration Prayer the Oblatory Words, and the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, left out in King Edward's reign, must at least have produced an opposition. But no such thing happened to any considerable extent; or, at least, the author did not hear of any in the other House, further than a disposition to the effect in a few gentlemen, which was counteracted by some pertinent remarks of the President.' (Tradition says that Dr. William Smith, hearing certain objections to the Prayer of Consecration, read the prayer to the Committee with such effect that no further objections were advanced.) 'In that of the Bishops, it lay very near the heart of Bishop Seabury.' (In a letter to Bishop White on June 29, 1789, Bishop Seabury says, 'That the most exceptionable part of the English Book is the Communion Office, may be proved by a number of very respectable names among her clergy. The grand fault in that office

is the deficiency of a more formal oblation of the elements, and of the invocation of the Holy Ghost to Sanctify and bless them. The Consecration is made to consist merely in the Priest's laying his hands on the elements and pronouncing " This is my body ", &c., which words are not consecration at all, nor were they addressed by Christ to the Father, but were declarative to the Apostles. This is so exactly symbolising with the Church of Rome in an error ; an error, too, on which the absurdity of Transubstantiation is built, that nothing but having fallen into the same error themselves, could have prevented the enemies of the Church from casting it in her teeth. The efficacy of Baptism, of Confirmation, of Orders, is ascribed to the Holy Ghost, and his energy is implored for that purpose ; and why he should not be invoked in the consecration of the Eucharist, especially as the old liturgies are full to the point, I cannot conceive. It is much easier to account for the alterations of the first Liturgy of Edward VI, than to justify them ; and as I have been told there is a vote on the minutes of your Convention, anno 1786, I believe, for the revision of this matter, I hope it will be taken up, and that God will raise up some able and worthy advocate for this primitive practice, and make you and the Convention, the instruments of restoring it to His Church in America. It would do you more honour in the world, and contribute more to the union of the churches than any other alterations you can make, and would restore the Holy Eucharist to its ancient dignity and efficacy.' <sup>1</sup>) The *Memoirs* of

<sup>1</sup> 29/39.

Bishop White continue, 'As for the other Bishop, without conceiving with some, that the service as it stood was essentially defective, he always thought there was a beauty in the ancient forms, and can discover no superstition in them. . . . The restoring of those parts of the service by the American Church has been since objected to by some few among us. To show that a superstitious sense must have been intended, they have laid great stress on the printing of the words, "which we now offer unto thee", in a different character, from the rest of the prayers. But this was mere accident. The Bishops, being possessed of the form used in the Scotch Episcopal Church, which they had altered in some respects, referred to it, to save the trouble of copying. But the reference was not intended to establish any particular manner of printing ; and accordingly in all the editions of the Prayer Book, since the first, the aforesaid words have been printed in the same character with the rest of the prayer, without any deviation from the original appointment. Bishop Seabury's attachment to these changes may be learned from the following incident. On the morning of the Sunday which occurred during the Session of the Convention, the author wished him to consecrate the elements. This he declined. On the offer being again made at the time when the service was to begin, he still declined ; and smiling added : "To confess the truth, I hardly consider the form to be used as strictly amounting to a consecration." The form was, of course, that used heretofore ; the changes not having taken effect. These sentiments he had adopted in his visit to



the Bishops from whom he received his Episcopacy.'<sup>1</sup>

The incorporation of certain suggestions of the Scottish Bishops in the new Prayer Book fulfilled Bishop Seabury's promise to them and left him free to return to his own diocese. The Convocation which met him on June 2, 1790, was satisfied with a 'short examination' on the Constitution and Canons; and it was not till the 1st of October, the second day of the adjourned session and the day on which the new Book was to go into use, that the minutes read: 'The alterations of the Book of Common Prayer made by the General Convention at Philadelphia, were read and considered. . . . On motion, the question was put in these words: "Whether we confirm the doings of our Proctors in the General Convention at Philadelphia, on the 2nd day of October, 1789." Which passed in the affirmative by the votes of every member present, the Reverend Mr. Sayre excepted.' The next day, 'A motion was made, that the Convocation should determine on a mode of introducing the Constitution and Canons and Liturgy in our several parishes: When it was agreed that each of the clergy should take that method that should appear to him the most eligible. Agreed also that in the use of the New Prayer-Book, we be as uniform as possible,—and for that purpose, that we approach as near the Old Liturgy, as a compliance with the Rubrics of the new will allow.' And on October 5, 1791, it was further 'voted: That, in the use of the Common Prayer Book we will use the Nicene Creed on Communion Days, and the Apostles' Creed on all

<sup>1</sup> Bishop White's *Memoirs*, pp. 154-5.

other days'. Although the new Service can be said to have immediately replaced the Seabury Office, 'the change from established customs is seldom easy, and whether the people loved to have it so or not, some of the clergy of that day never learned to carry out in full practice the literal meaning of the rubrical directions of the new Prayer Book.'<sup>1</sup>

The General Conventions of 1792 and 1799 dealt with Ordination and the Consecrating of Churches. During the General Convention of 1792 an event of great importance to the future peace of the American Church took place. It was the consecration on Monday, September 17, in Trinity Church, in the City of New York, of the Rev. Dr. Thomas John Claggett, as Bishop of Maryland. The four Bishops, Seabury, Provoost, White, and Madison, united in it, thus joining for ever the English and Scottish lines in the succession of American Bishops.

In the summer of 1800 the Evangelicals gathered in their first 'camp meeting'. 'The evangelical Churchmen differed from their evangelical neighbours', Dean Hodges points out, 'in their use of the Prayer Book. They brought their converts to baptism, to confirmation, and to the Holy Communion. They maintained the order and reverent ways of the liturgical service.'<sup>2</sup> This was the revival of an old enthusiasm which was to play a large part in carrying the Gospel message through the Liturgy of the Church.

The year 1811 was one of grave apprehension for the American Church. Both Bishop Provoost and his successor in the See of New York, Bishop Moore,

<sup>1</sup> 29/47.

<sup>2</sup> 31/114.

had retired from active work on account of illness. Bishop Madison, absorbed in his duties as President of William and Mary College, was being forced to neglect the Virginia clergy and parishes. Bishop Claggett was growing infirm. Bishop Jarvis was partly incapacitated by illness. This left only Bishop White, who was fully capable and active.

When the General Convention met in New Haven, in May 1811, there were in attendance in the House of Bishops only Bishop White and Bishop Jarvis. Two Bishops-elect were awaiting consecration: the Reverend Alexander Vich Griswold, for the confederation known as the Eastern Diocese, composed of the Dioceses of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont; and the Reverend Dr. John Henry Hobart, as assistant Bishop of New York. It had been arranged that the consecration should take place at New Haven. The unexpected absence of Bishop Claggett, who on leaving his house for the Convention was taken ill and had to turn back, made that impossible. The consecration took place in Trinity Church, New York City, on May 29, 1811. The consecrators were Bishop White, Bishop Provoost, and Bishop Jarvis. The venerable Bishop of New York, although suffering greatly from his infirmity, kept his promise to be present. That day marked the beginning of an era in the American Church, for the two then made Bishops in the Church of God were not only 'godly and well-learned men', but full of energy, enthusiasm, and zeal.

Dr. Hobart, although only thirty-six years old, was probably the best-known priest in the American

Church. His writings upon the doctrine and polity of the Church and his devotional works had a wide circulation. As parish priest in the greatest parish of the land, Trinity, New York City, he was noted for his practical work and eloquent sermons. He was the friend and correspondent of the most prominent priests and laymen in the Church. As a Bishop he taught sound doctrine, revived, invigorated, strengthened, and enlarged the Church throughout his great Diocese. The Church principles which he taught, learned in part at least from Connecticut, and which he imparted to Hugh James Rose and other friends in England, make him a forerunner of the Oxford Movement.

Dr. Griswold, although modest and retiring, had a reserve force which could be roused when occasion demanded. The effect of the evangelical revival is apparent in his efforts to build up the Eastern Diocese in New England. 'In the year of 1812 there was at Bristol an awakened attention to the subject of religion. Very much to my regret the number of communicants had hitherto been small,' he writes, 'but about forty; and yet, notwithstanding the very zealous efforts of those of other denominations to draw the converts to their respective communions, a large number of adults (44) were baptised, and a hundred were added to my communion, of whom more than half had been accustomed to attend worship in other places or in no place.' The Bishop was able to report the confirmation of upwards of 1,200 to the Convention of the Eastern Diocese meeting at Providence, R.I., on September 30, 1812. 'Next after the word and minister of God',

he advised, 'this (the Prayer Book) is the best gift you can send.'<sup>1</sup> The entry in his journal for June 15, 1821, gives us a picture of the natural setting in which the Communion Service was celebrated. 'In the morning we proceed over a bad road, through a new and interesting country, to Berkshire.'<sup>2</sup> The school house not being sufficient to contain the congregation expected, preparations were made in a beautiful grove of young maples, on a fine rising ground, and the lumber, collected near the spot for building a new church, furnished abundant materials for the stage and seats. Thus was its use anticipated and an altar reared, we may almost say, "with unhewn stone" . . . . Many circumstances compassed to heighten the interest of the scenery and the occasion. At a small distance in front, without the grove, which was semicircular, was the intended site of the new church. Below, at the foot of a gentle descent, the road leads along the grove, and beyond it, for a long distance on either hand, the river Missique is seen winding its beautiful course through an extended vale. And still beyond are rising forests, and fields, and hills swelling into various shapes and sizes; while mountains, rearing their unequal and lofty summits terminate the view. In such a situation, surrounded by a numerous assembly collected from several towns and many miles in every direction, my thoughts were such as I have not language to express. After the sermon thirty-five persons received confirmation, and received it, there was no reason to doubt, with a just and deep sense of its nature and design. And then the Lord's

<sup>1</sup> 33/184.

<sup>2</sup> *A town in Vermont on the borders of Canada.*

Supper was administered to a respectable number of very devout communicants.' <sup>1</sup>

The period before this revival had in some sections been one of serious religious depression. In Virginia even such men as Patrick Henry, who was at least in his later life a devout communicant, had successfully urged an act disestablishing the Church in 1779. 'The result was such as had been anticipated by those who had strenuously opposed the Act of Legislature. Deprived of their livings, the clergy, many of whom were practically, if not personally, obnoxious to the majority of their parishioners, found themselves reduced to the necessity of abandoning their calling, in the exercise of which they could no longer hope for support. Many left the country; the sacraments were no longer administered in the parishes thus abandoned, and, although a few faithful priests travelled over large circuits for the purpose of administering baptism and the holy Communion, they could not supply the lack of the constant and regular services and ministrations which had been of old.' <sup>2</sup> Although the Assembly had taken measures to legalize the Church after the War, one of the ministers tells us that of those who were called Church people in Virginia generally none went to the Holy Table, except a few of the more aged. Not until Dr. Richard Channing Moore became Bishop in 1814 was the Church in Virginia strengthened and revived. Provoost, whose patriotic enthusiasm made him a strong bulwark of the Church in New York, seems, because of illness toward the close of his life at least, to have taken little interest

<sup>1</sup> 33/185.

<sup>2</sup> 33/135.

in furthering the Celebrations of Communion. The Reverend Charles Woodmason's *Account of West Florida, made in 1776* gives us a hint of the state of the Church in Alabama—'A person who calls himself a clergyman patrols about this place and officiates occasionally. But if he is one, they say that he is such a disgrace to the character, that they, bad as they are, hold him in detestation.'

But the Churchmen in the communities that were springing up west of the Alleghanies were making straight in the desert a highway for their God. The laymen prepared for the coming of the priests. Bishop Perry writes that, 'after Captain Charles Griswold had read the service for four years in Worthington, Ohio, with occasional visits from certain clergy, the parish increased, and many were "made ready" for the subsequent reception of the holy Communion. So that Mr. Chase (afterward Bishop) had on his coming a large number of adult candidates for baptism, and shortly numbered between 40 and 50 communicants in this single parish. When at length there was a bishop (1819) to administer the rite of confirmation, at its first administration in the State, 79 received the laying on of hands in St. John's, Worthington.'<sup>1</sup> The publication of a *Companion for the Altar*, by J. H. Hobart, who had by this time become Bishop of New York, 'quickened the devotion of communicants', and similar efforts met with success in many sections.

General Conventions were being held at intervals. In 1811 they had added to the 8th Article of the

<sup>1</sup> 33/223.

Constitution that 'No alteration or addition shall be made in the Book of Common Prayer, or other offices of the Church, unless the same shall be proposed in one General Convention, and by a resolve thereof be made known to the Convention of every Diocese, and adopted at the subsequent Convention'. In 1814 the relationship with the Church of England was dealt with, and six years later the title and definition of the Prayer Book was brought up. Although the spirit of the Convention of 1826 was opposed to any changes, the House of Bishops was unanimous in presenting the House of Deputies with a proposition 'for shortening of the service in sundry particulars'. 'At present,' declared Bishop Hobart, who was responsible for this proposition, to the New York Convention a year later, 'according to the construction which some clergymen (in my judgement most erroneously) put upon a rubric at the end of the Communion Service, they conceive themselves at liberty to omit using the Ten Commandments, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel which are usually denominated the Ante-Communion Service. It is proposed that the rubric be so altered as to preclude all cavil, and to render the use of the Ante-Communion Service imperative.'<sup>1</sup> Not only the proper use of Liturgy was urged in Conventions but its spread throughout the country. The State Convention meeting in Savannah, Georgia, in April 1829, agreed to reimburse ministers who should go to the expense of travelling to missions in charge of deacons for the purpose of administering the Holy Communion. At the 1832 General Convention

<sup>1</sup> 33/162, 163.



it was proposed to alter the last rubric before the Communion Service by substituting the word, right, for the word, north. (In building churches, most of which were temporary wooden structures, the eastward position of the altar was not strictly adhered to, and thus the points of the compass in relation to it varied.) Besides adopting this proposition the General Convention of 1835 agreed, 'that the Confession, the Creeds and the Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy of our church should be the joint acts of minister and people, and be confirmed by their united declaration of assent in the word, Amen'.<sup>1</sup> The Convention of 1838 adopted the above and made certain rules for printing. The Institution Office took the attention of the Conventions of 1841 and 1844.

'Within fifteen years after the consecration of the first missionary bishop (1835) both the clergy list and the communicant list had more than doubled. The 700 clergymen became 1,500 and the 36,000 communicants became 80,000.'<sup>2</sup> The members of the Associate Mission for Minnesota, whose organization, June 24, 1850, by certain Eastern ministers marks the start of the aggressive campaign for the Church, 'began their work by the celebration of the eucharistic feast. A rustic cross was raised beneath a large and spreading elm, and on an altar of stone the elements were consecrated in this solemn sacrament'.<sup>3</sup> Much farther west and quite separate from this movement we find the Liturgy in use. Two ministers from New York, Augustus Fitch and F. S. Mines, used the Liturgy of the Protestant

<sup>1</sup> 14/xlii.

<sup>2</sup> 31/128.

<sup>3</sup> 33/271.

Episcopal Church on Sunday, July 22, 1849, at the house of John H. Merrill in San Francisco. At the close of the Service it was decided to organize a parish and call it 'The Holy Trinity Church'. But to quote from Bishop Kip: 'It is a fact but little known to Churchmen of the present day, that the early founders of the Church on this coast had no idea of uniting with the General Church at the East. There is no recognition of it in any of their proceedings. They ignored the name of the "Protestant Episcopal Church", and called their organization, "The Church in California". . . . The question was discussed previous to the meeting of the convention of attempting to procure the Episcopate from the Greek Church.'<sup>1</sup>

The Communion Service had always been a great force in the Church, but Seabury was the first to hold weekly Celebrations in America. The stress laid upon it varied in different places at different times. Now the Oxford Movement, which made it 'the central act of worship', touched the coasts of America. As we have noted above, Bishop Hobart must be counted among the forerunners of the Movement. L. S. Ives, who had been consecrated Bishop of North Carolina, had caused alarm because of his advanced views before the Diocesan Convention met at Salisbury in 1849. Reassurance was afforded by his 'charge', which agrees 'that no effort shall be wanting on his part—to hinder the inculcation of any doctrine—not in strict accordance with the liturgy of our Church, as illustrated and defined by those standards of interpretation

<sup>1</sup> 33/314.

authorised by the Church itself'. He continues, 'In respect to a particular question, which had agitated the diocese of late, the question of Auricular Confession, I may here express my conviction that the Book of Common Prayer, our Standard of Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, does not authorise any clergyman of the Church to teach or enforce such confession as necessary to salvation, and that the only confession which it authorises, is the voluntary confession of the exhortation in the office for the Holy Communion'.<sup>1</sup> This 'charge' seems to have satisfied the Convention. In the Convention of May 1852 no reference is made to the Bishop's supposedly Romish tendencies, and his exhortation is for 'a thorough knowledge of, and a simple adherence to, the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer'. But the Advanced Church Movement met with little serious opposition where it was pressed. The missionary responsibility seemed to concern the Church more.

According to the decision of the General Convention the House of Bishops elected William Ingraham Kip, D.D., of Albany, the first Bishop of California. On the morning of October 28, 1853, which had been dark and stormy, the sun burst forth and filled the sanctuary of Trinity Church, New York, where the consecration was being held, with a flood of light which seemed to Bishop Kip to illustrate the future history of the Church in California. 'The beginnings', he writes, 'have long been overcast with storms and clouds, overhung with darkness and gloom. But now that a bishop has been consecrated for her,

<sup>1</sup> 33/285.

and clergy will flock with him to labour in the desolate places of that spiritual wilderness, we doubt not but that the clouds will ere long break away, and the all-glorious Sun of Righteousness will shine cheerily upon a land abundantly bringing forth the increase.'<sup>1</sup> This missionary spirit fighting against great odds naturally tended to draw together the Protestant Church in America.

The celebrated measure known as the 'Memorial' was brought before the General Conventions of 1853 and 1856 on behalf of a number of influential men by the Reverend Dr. Muhlenberg. Its ideal was the union of the Protestant bodies. It urged a loosening of the Church's strict uniformity for the purpose of admitting to the Communion the members of these various bodies, 'without that entire surrender which would now be required of them, of *all* their liberty in public worship to which they have been accustomed'.<sup>2</sup> The 'Preliminary Report on the Memorial' reads as follows: 'The Commissioners to whom was referred the Memorial of the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg and others, desirous of bringing to the attention of the House of Bishops, at the earliest moment, some of the most important results of their labours, have instructed their chairman, before presenting the full report of the Commission, to lay before the House the following preamble and resolutions, which they unanimously recommend for adoption, viz. :—Whereas, the order of worship, as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, or as settled by usage, has been framed with especial reference to the established Parish Churches, and to a population already incor-

<sup>1</sup> 33/315.

<sup>2</sup> 31/131.

porated with the Church, &c. And whereas it is desirable that the use of the Book of Common Prayer, as the vehicle of the church's devotions, should be such as to cultivate an enlightened love for the Liturgy and people to make their labours for Christ most effective: therefore, Resolved, as the sense of the House of Bishops, 1st. That ministers may at their discretion use separately the office for Morning Prayer, and that, where a third service is to be held, the Litany or the Ante-Communion Office, or both, may be used in the afternoon, the order for Evening Prayer being reserved for said third service. 2nd. That the order for the Holy Communion, in its entirety, may, with a sermon, be used separately: provided nevertheless, that on the greater Festivals, it should in their judgement be preceded by the office of Morning or Evening Prayer.'<sup>1</sup> The year before the Civil War in 1860 the General Convention was still occupied with the Memorial.

In 1860, when the power of the Federal Government over the Governments of individual States was questioned, the Church can hardly be said to have split into North and South, but the hostilities made it necessary for the parts of the Church on either side of the Mason-Dixon Line to work separately. The 'General Council' of the 'Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States' which met in Augusta, Georgia, on the second Wednesday in November 1862, appointed a Committee for considering 'such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer as may be deemed proper', but made it

<sup>1</sup> 33/298.

requisite that the 'alterations involve no change in the doctrine or discipline of this Church'.<sup>1</sup> In the pastoral letter the reply is: 'The Prayer Book we have kept unchanged in every particular save when a change of our civil government and the formation of a new nation have made alteration essentially requisite. These words comprise all the amendment which had been deemed necessary in the present emergency, for we have felt unwilling in the existing confusion of affairs, to lay rash hands upon a book consecrated by the use of ages and hallowed by associations the most sacred and precious. We give you back your Book of Common Prayer the same as you have entrusted it to us, believing that if it has slight defects, their removal had better be the gradual work of experience, than the hasty action of a body convened almost upon the outskirts of a camp.'<sup>2</sup> On the other side of the Line the records of the General Convention meeting in New York in the same year read: 'Resolved,—By the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of this stated Triennial Convention, that, assembling as we have been called to do, at a period of great national peril and deplorable civil convulsion, it is meet and proper that we should call to mind, distinctly and publicly, that the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States hath ever held and taught, in the language of one of its articles of religion, that "it is the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel to pay respectful obedience to civil authority, regularly and legitimately constituted"; and hath incorporated into its Liturgy "a prayer for the President

<sup>1</sup> 33/333.<sup>2</sup> 33/333.

of the United States and all civil authority", and "a prayer for the Congress of the United States, to be used during their session"; and hath bound all orders of its ministry to the faithful and constant observance, in letter and spirit, of these and all other parts of its prescribed ritual.'<sup>1</sup>

What the Administration of the Blessed Sacrament meant to Churchmen during the Civil War can be well appreciated by men and women who have been through the past four years. When the War subsided it left a division in the Church. Although Bishop Wilmer of Alabama led the way in taking the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government, he was forbidden to preach or to perform Divine Service by the military authority, because he refused to pray for the President of the United States. But it was not until the interdict was withdrawn that the Bishop allowed the use of the Prayer for the President. Then the churches in Alabama were opened for services. In January 1866 the Diocese formally withdrew from the Confederate Council, and the old relations with the General Convention were renewed. The Council of the Southern Dioceses disappeared with the Government of the Confederate States, and gradually the churches of the North and South drew together in a closer union than ever before.

The missionary activity which the War had hampered now carried on as before. On July 2, 1867, a bishop and two clergymen, after many dangerous adventures with the Indians, arrived in Salt Lake City. Twelve days later the Bishop confirmed

<sup>1</sup> 33/334.

eleven candidates and celebrated the first Holy Eucharist in Utah. He went immediately to explain his mission to Brigham Young and received the Mormon chief's welcome.

The old party difficulties also seemed to return with the cessation of war. 'As regards the holy Communion,' says Dean Hodges, 'the discussion turned upon the matter of ritual. The High Churchmen held a doctrine of the Eucharist akin to that which was held in the Middle Ages, and they desired to express it by forms and ceremonies such as were used in the Latin Mass. The Low Churchmen held a doctrine of the Lord's Supper akin to that which was held by the Swiss Reformers, and they objected to the forms.'<sup>1</sup> The ecclesiastical authorities attempted a settlement of the question. In September 1866 the Presiding Bishop and Dr. John Henry Hopkins of Vermont published a book on ritualism. Some guidance was necessary because of the introduction, especially in New York, of old and unknown customs into the Services. Twenty-four bishops lent the weight of their influence to a declaration against the unlawful innovations. They felt that since the Protestant Episcopal Church was 'a particular and national Church . . . no Prayer Book of the Church of England, in the reign of whatever Sovereign set forth, and no law of the Church of England have any force in this church, such as can be justly cited in defence of any departure from the express law of this church, its Liturgy, its discipline, rites and usages. And we therefore, consider that in this particular National Church, any attempt to

<sup>1</sup> 31/139.



introduce into the public worship of Almighty God usages that have never been known, such as the use of incense, and the burning of lights in the Order of Holy Communion, reverences to the Holy Table, or to the Elements themselves thereon, such as indicate or imply that the Sacrifice of our Divine Lord and Saviour "once offered" was not a "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world", the adoption of clerical habits hitherto unknown, or material alterations of those which have been in use since the establishment of our Episcopate, is an innovation which violates the discipline of the Church, "offendeth against its common order and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren." Furthermore, that we be not misunderstood, let it be noted that we include in these censures all departures from the laws, rubrics, and settled Order of this Church, as well by defect, as by excess of observance, designing to maintain in its integrity the sound Scriptural and Primitive, and therefore, the Catholic and Apostolic, spirit of the Book of Common Prayer.' <sup>1</sup>

No definite action followed as a result of this agitation. The majority report of the Committee of the General Convention in 1868 resolved that, 'any canon on the subject of ritual would be unwise and inexpedient at the present time'. However, the matter did not rest there. The House of Bishops of this Convention appointed five Bishops, 'To consider whether any additional provision for uniformity, by canon or otherwise, is practicable and expedient,

<sup>1</sup> 33/347.

and to report to the next General Convention'. It recommended in 1871 the prohibition of the following acts in the Communion Service: '(1) The use of incense, (2) Placing or retaining a crucifix in any part of the church, (3) Carrying a cross in procession in the church, (4) The use of lights on or about the holy table, except when necessary, (5) The elevation of the Elements in the Holy Communion in such a manner as to expose them to the view of the people as objects toward which adoration is to be made, in or after the Prayer of Consecration, or in the act of administering them, or in conveying them to or from the communicants, (6) The mixing of water with the wine as part of the Service, or in presence of the congregation, (7) The washing of the priest's hands, or the ablution of the vessels, in the presence of the congregation, (8) Bowings, crossings, genuflections, prostrations, reverences, bowing down or kissing the holy table, and kneeling, except as allowed, provided for, or directed, by rubric or canon; it being provided that reverence at the mention of the name of the Lord Jesus is not intended to be disallowed; and it being further provided that private personal devotion, before or after official ministrations, is not to be understood to include or justify any of the acts prohibited, (9) The celebration or receiving of the Holy Communion by any bishop or priest when no person receives with him, (10) Employing or permitting any person or persons not in Holy Orders to assist the minister in any part of the administration of the Holy Communion, (11) Using at any administration of the Holy Communion, any prayers, collects,

gospels, or epistles, other than those provided in the Book of Common Prayer, or under § xiv of Canon 13 of Title 1 of the Digest.'<sup>1</sup>

The question on the use of the Book of Common Prayer, which the General Convention was considering in 1871, was seemingly closed in 1874 by the passage of a canon on ceremonial. The vast majority of the lay and clerical voters thus condemned, in the words of the canon, 'ceremonies or practices not ordained or authorized in the Book of Common Prayer, and setting forth or symbolizing erroneous or doubtful doctrines during the celebration of the Holy Communion, such as (a) The elevation of the Elements in the Holy Communion in such manner as to expose them to the view of the people as objects toward which adoration is to be made, (b) Any act of adoration of or toward the Elements in the Holy Communion, such as bowings, prostrations, or genuflections; and (c) All other acts not authorized by the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer'. But ritual liberty seemed to many justified in subsequent discussions, so that later, when the subject was brought up again, the restrictions had no supporters.

The General Convention of 1880 began a revision of the Prayer Book, and in the meeting three years later, 'The Joint Committee on the Book of Common Prayer', composed of such men as Dr. Hart, Dr. Huntington, and other men learned in liturgics, presented their suggested alterations in what was called the 'Book Annexed'. The Conventions of 1886 and 1889 proposed and rejected various amendments, and

<sup>1</sup> 33/35<sup>2</sup>, 353.

finally, in 1892, certain minor changes, restorations for the most part from the present English Book or from the Books of 1549 and 1637, were made in the Prayer Book. Since that time many changes and alterations have been proposed, but nothing of great importance has been accepted.

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

OR

HOLY COMMUNION.<sup>1</sup>

So many as intend to be partakers of the holy Communion, shall signify their names to the Curate . . . the day before.

*If among those who come to be partakers of the Holy Com-*

And if any of those be ^

*munion, the Minister know any to be*

^

AN OPEN AND NOTORIOUS EVIL

*to*  
LIVER, OR ^ HAVE DONE ANY WRONG TO HIS  
NEIGHBOURS BY WORD OR DEED, SO THAT THE  
CONGREGATION BE THEREBY OFFENDED: the Curate

*he shall*

having knowledge thereof, shall call him and ^ ADVER-  
TISE HIM, THAT in any wise HE PRESUME NOT TO  
COME TO THE LORD'S TABLE, UNTIL HE HAVE OPENLY  
DECLARED HIMSELF TO HAVE TRULY REPENTED,

*evil*

AND AMENDED HIS FORMER naughty LIFE, THAT THE  
CONGREGATION MAY THEREBY BE SATISFIED which

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<sup>1</sup> For cross-references to the English and Scottish Uses and for further explanations of liturgical changes, see Table of Contents.

*hath*

before were offended ; AND THAT HE have RECOMPENSED THE PARTIES TO WHOM HE HATH DONE WRONG, OR AT LEAST DECLARE HIMSELF TO BE IN FULL PURPOSE SO TO DO, AS SOON AS HE CONVENIENTLY MAY.

*Minister*

THE SAME ORDER SHALL THE Curate USE WITH THOSE BETWIXT WHOM HE PERCEIVETH MALICE, AND HATRED TO REIGN : NOT SUFFERING THEM TO BE PARTAKERS OF THE LORD'S TABLE, UNTIL HE KNOW THEM TO BE RECONCILED. AND IF ONE OF THE PARTIES SO AT VARIANCE BE CONTENT TO FORGIVE FROM THE BOTTOM OF HIS HEART ALL THAT THE OTHER HATH TRESPASSED AGAINST HIM, AND TO

*wherein*

MAKE AMENDS FOR THAT ^ HE HIMSELF HATH OFFENDED, AND THE OTHER PARTY WILL NOT BE PERSUADED TO A GODLY UNITY, BUT REMAIN STILL IN HIS FROWARDNESS, AND MALICE : THE MINISTER IN THAT CASE OUGHT TO ADMIT THE PENITENT PERSON TO THE HOLY COMMUNION, AND NOT HIM THAT IS OBSTINATE. PROVIDED THAT EVERY MINIS-

*herein*

TER SO REPELLING ANY, AS IS ^ SPECIFIED in this or the next precedent Paragraph of this Rubric SHALL BE OBLIGED TO GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF THE SAME TO THE ORDINARY WITHIN FOURTEEN DAYS AFTER, AT THE FARTHEST. And the Ordinary shall proceed against the offending person according to the canon.

THE TABLE AT THE COMMUNION TIME HAVING A FAIR WHITE LINEN CLOTH UPON IT, SHALL STAND IN THE BODY OF THE CHURCH, OR IN THE CHANCEL, where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said. AND

*Minister* THE Priest STANDING AT THE *right* north<sup>1</sup> SIDE OF THE  
 TABLE *or where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed*  
 ^

to be said,

^ SHALL SAY THE LORD'S PRAYER WITH THE

; but

COLLECT FOLLOWING, THE PEOPLE KNEELING.

*the Lord's Prayer may be omitted, if Morning Prayer hath been said immediately before.*

OUR FATHER *who* which ART IN HEAVEN, HALLOWED  
 BE THY NAME. THY KINGDOM COME. THY WILL BE

*on* DONE in EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN. GIVE US THIS  
 DAY OUR DAILY BREAD. AND FORGIVE US OUR

TRESPASSES, AS WE FORGIVE *those who* them that TRESPASS  
 AGAINST US. AND LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION,  
 BUT DELIVER US FROM EVIL. AMEN.

THE COLLECT.

ALMIGHTY GOD UNTO WHOM ALL HEARTS *are* be  
 OPEN, . . . AMEN.

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*Who for Which.*—In the Lord's Prayer coming after the Prayer for the Church, Seabury, following the Scots Book of 1764, read WHO rather than WHICH. This may be a reason for the change in the pronoun throughout the American Book.

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<sup>1</sup> In the 1832 General Convention it was proposed to alter the last rubric before the Communion Service by substituting the word *right* for the word *north*. In building churches most of which were temporary wooden structures the eastward position of the altar was not strictly adhered to, and thus the points of the compass in relation to it varied. The change was adopted by the Convention of 1835.

*Minister*

THEN SHALL THE Priest, TURNING TO THE PEOPLE, REHEARSE DISTINCTLY all THE TEN COMMANDMENTS ; AND THE PEOPLE STILL KNEELING SHALL, AFTER EVERY COMMANDMENT, ASK GOD MERCY FOR THEIR TRANSGRESSION<sup>s</sup> thereof FOR THE TIME PAST, AND GRACE TO KEEP THE<sup>law</sup> same FOR THE TIME TO COME, as followeth.

*The Decalogue may be omitted, provided it be said on each Sunday. But Note, That whenever it is omitted, the Minister shall say the Summary of the Law, beginning, Hear what our Lord Jesus Christ saith.*

MINISTER.

GOD SPAKE THESE WORDS AND SAID, I AM THE LORD THY GOD, THOU SHALT, &c. PEOPLE.

LORD HAVE MERCY UPON US, AND INCLINE OUR HEARTS TO KEEP THIS LAW.

\* \* \* \* \*

PEOPLE.

LORD HAVE MERCY UPON US, AND WRITE ALL THESE THY LAWS IN OUR HEARTS, WE BESEECH THEE.

*Then the Minister may say,*

*Hear also what our Lord Jesus Christ saith.*

*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it ; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.*

*Here, if the Decalogue hath been omitted, shall be said, Lord, have mercy upon us.*



*Christ, have mercy upon us.*

*Lord, have mercy upon us.*

*the Minister may say,*

THEN shall follow one of these two Collects for the King, the Priest standing as before, and saying,

LET US PRAY.

Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting, . . . . Amen.

Or

Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy Word, . . . . . Amen.

*O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern, both our hearts and bodies, in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy commandments; that, through thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.*

THEN SHALL BE SAID THE COLLECT OF THE DAY

*Minister*

AND IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE COLLECT, THE Priest, SHALL READ THE EPISTLE, SAYING, THE EPISTLE . . . ,

*, the people all*

HERE ENDETH THE EPISTLE. THEN

^

*standing up,*

^

SHALL HE READ THE GOSPEL (the people all standing up) SAYING, THE HOLY GOSPEL IS WRITTEN IN THE ——— CHAPTER OF ——— BEGINNING AT THE ——— VERSE.

*Here*

*said or*

And the Gospel ended, ^ SHALL BE ^ SUNG or

*Glory be to thee, O Lord.*

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*Prayers for Rulers.*—The American Service, omitting the prayers for the ruler in this traditional place, has no special prayer for the President in the Communion Service.

*Then shall be* commonly called *the Nicene*,  
 SAID THE CREED following, the people  
 still standing as before.

*or else the Apostles' Creed ; but the Creed may be omitted, if  
 it hath been said immediately before in Morning Prayer ;  
 Provided, that the Nicene Creed shall be said on Christmas-  
 day, Easter-day, Ascension-day, Whitsunday, and Trinity-  
 Sunday.*

I BELIEVE IN ONE GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, . . .  
 AMEN.

*Minister*

THEN THE Curate SHALL DECLARE UNTO THE PEOPLE  
 WHAT HOLY-DAYS, OR FASTING-DAYS ARE IN THE  
 WEEK FOLLOWING TO BE OBSERVED. AND then also  
 (IF OCCASION BE) SHALL NOTICE BE GIVEN OF THE

*of the Banns of Matrimony*

COMMUNION : AND                    ^                    Briefs, Citations  
 and Excommunications read. And nothing shall be pro-  
 claimed or published in the Church during the time of Divine  
 Service, but by the Minister : nor by him anything but what  
 is prescribed in the Rules of this Book, or enjoined by the  
*and other matters to be published.*  
 King, or by the Ordinary of the place.                    ^

THEN SHALL FOLLOW THE SERMON or one of the  
 Homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by  
 authority.

*After which, the Minister, when there is a Communion,*

Then

^

SHALL the Priest RETURN TO THE LORD'S TABLE, AND  
 BEGIN THE OFFERTORY SAYING ONE OR MORE OF  
 THESE SENTENCES FOLLOWING, AS HE THINKETH  
 MOST CONVENIENT in his discretion.

*And Note, That these Sentences may be used on any other*

*occasion of Public Worship, when the alms of the People are to be received.*

*Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, . . . to receive.*  
*Acts xx. 35.*

LET YOUR LIGHT SO SHINE BEFORE MEN . . . IN

HEAVEN. ST. MATT. V. <sup>16.</sup> Λ

\* \* \* \* \*

BLESSED BE THE MAN THAT PROVIDETH . . . OF

TROUBLE. PSALM XLI. <sup>I.</sup> Λ

*Speak unto the children of Israel, . . . Exod. xxv. 2.*

*Ye shall not appear before the Lord empty . . . Deut. xvi. 16, 17.*

*Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power . . . I Chron.*

*xxix. 11.*

*All things come of thee, O Lord, . . . I Chron. xxix. 14.*

WHILST THESE SENTENCES ARE IN READING . .  
 AND PLACE IT UPON THE HOLY TABLE.

AND when there is a Communion, THE PRIEST SHALL  
 THEN PLACE UPON THE TABLE SO MUCH BREAD AND  
 WINE AS HE SHALL THINK SUFFICIENT.

*And when the Alms and Oblations are presented, there may  
 After which done  
 be sung a Hymn, or an Offertory Anthem in the Words of Holy  
 Scripture or of the Book of Common Prayer, under the direction  
 of the Minister.*

*Then shall*

THE PRIEST shall SAY.

LET US PRAY FOR THE WHOLE STATE OF CHRIST'S  
 CHURCH MILITANT here in Earth.

ALMIGHTY AND EVERLIVING GOD, WHO BY THY  
 HOLY APOSTLE HAST TAUGHT US TO MAKE PRAYERS,  
 AND SUPPLICATIONS, AND TO GIVE THANKS FOR ALL

**MEN: WE HUMBLY BESEECH THEE MOST MERCIFULLY**

*\*If there be no alms or oblations, then shall the words (of accepting our alms and oblations, and ) be left out unsaid.* \* (TO ACCEPT OUR ALMS AND OBLATIONS, AND) TO RECEIVE THESE OUR PRAYERS, WHICH WE OFFER UNTO THY DIVINE MAJESTY, BESEECHING THEE TO INSPIRE CONTINUALLY THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH WITH THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH, UNITY,

*those who* AND CONCORD: AND GRANT THAT ALL they that DO CONFESS THY HOLY NAME MAY AGREE IN THE TRUTH OF THY HOLY WORD, AND LIVE IN UNITY

*so* AND GODLY LOVE. WE BESEECH THEE ALSO ^ TO *direct and dispose the hearts of* save and defend ALL CHRISTIAN *Rulers* Kings,

Princes, and Governors, and specially thy servant George our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole Council, and to all that are put in authority under him, THAT THEY MAY TRULY

*impartially administer* AND indifferently minister JUSTICE, TO THE PUNISHMENT OF WICKEDNESS AND VICE, AND TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THY TRUE RELIGION AND VIRTUE. GIVE GRACE (O HEAVENLY FATHER) TO ALL BISHOPS AND *other ministers*

^ Curates, THAT THEY MAY BOTH BY THEIR LIFE AND DOCTRINE SET FORTH THY TRUE AND LIVELY WORD, AND RIGHTLY AND DULY ADMINISTER THY HOLY SACRAMENTS: AND TO ALL THY PEOPLE GIVE

*e* THY HEAVENLY GRACE, AND SPECIALLY TO THIS CONGREGATION HERE PRESENT; THAT WITH MEEK HEART AND DUE REVERENCE THEY MAY HEAR AND RECEIVE THY HOLY WORD, TRULY SERVING THEE

IN HOLINESS AND RIGHTEOUSNESS ALL THE DAYS OF THEIR LIFE. AND WE MOST HUMBLY BESEECH THEE OF THY GOODNESS (O LORD) TO COMFORT AND

*those*  
SUCCOUR ALL *them* WHO IN THIS TRANSITORY LIFE ARE IN TROUBLE, SORROW, NEED, SICKNESS, OR ANY OTHER ADVERSITY. AND WE ALSO BLESS THY HOLY NAME FOR ALL THY SERVANTS DEPARTED THIS LIFE IN THY FAITH AND FEAR, BESEECHING THEE TO GIVE US GRACE SO TO FOLLOW THEIR GOOD EXAMPLES, THAT WITH THEM WE MAY BE PARTAKERS OF THY HEAVENLY KINGDOM. GRANT THIS, O FATHER, FOR JESUS CHRIST'S SAKE, OUR ONLY MEDIATOR AND ADVOCATE. AMEN.

When the Minister giveth warning . . . , he shall read this Exhortation following.

Dearly beloved, On ——day next . . . , and avoiding of all scruple, and doubtfulness.

Or in case he shall see the people negligent . . . , he shall use this Exhortation.

Dearly beloved . . . unto Almighty God our heavenly Father.

AT THE TIME OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE COMMUNION, the Communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the holy Sacrament, THE PRIEST SHALL

*But note, That the Exhorta-*  
SAY THIS EXHORTATION.

*tion may be omitted if it hath been already said on one Lord's Day in that same month.*

*who*  
DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD, YE *that* MIND TO COME TO THE HOLY COMMUNION OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST, MUST CONSIDER HOW SAINT PAUL EXHORTETH ALL PERSONS DILI-

GENTLY TO TRY AND EXAMINE THEMSELVES, BEFORE THEY PRESUME TO EAT OF THAT BREAD, AND DRINK OF THAT CUP. FOR AS THE BENEFIT IS GREAT, IF WITH A TRUE PENITENT HEART AND LIVELY FAITH WE RECEIVE THAT HOLY SACRAMENT; for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his Blood, then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us, we are one with Christ, and Christ with us; SO IS THE DANGER GREAT, IF WE RECEIVE THE SAME UNWORTHILY. For then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour: we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's body: we kindle God's wrath against us: we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death. JUDGE THEREFORE YOURSELVES, BRETHREN, . . . RIGHTEOUSNESS ALL THE DAYS OF OUR LIFE. AMEN.

*those who*

THEN SHALL THE PRIEST SAY TO them that COME TO RECEIVE THE HOLY COMMUNION.

*who*

YE that DO TRULY AND EARNESTLY . . . AND MAKE YOUR HUMBLE CONFESSION TO ALMIGHTY GOD, *devoutly* meekly KNEELING upon your knees.

THEN SHALL THIS GENERAL CONFESSION BE MADE *by the priest and* *who* in the name of ALL THOSE that ARE MINDED TO RECEIVE THE HOLY COMMUNION, by one of the ministers, both he and all the people HUMBLY KNEELING upon their knees and saying.

ALMIGHTY GOD . . . THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD. AMEN.

*if he be*

THEN SHALL THE PRIEST (or THE BISHOP being

PRESENT) STAND UP, AND TURNING himself TO THE  
 PEOPLE, <sup>say,</sup> pronounce this Absolution.

ALMIGHTY GOD, OUR HEAVENLY FATHER . . . AMEN.  
 THEN SHALL THE PRIEST SAY,  
 HEAR WHAT COMFORTABLE WORDS OUR SAVIOUR

CHRIST SAITH UNTO ALL <sup>who</sup> that TRULY TURN TO HIM.

COME UNTO ME ALL <sup>ye</sup> ^ THAT TRAVAIL AND . . .  
 HEAR ALSO WHAT SAINT PAUL SAITH.

THIS IS A TRUE SAYING AND WORTHY OF ALL MEN  
 TO BE RECEIVED, . . .

HEAR ALSO WHAT SAINT JOHN SAITH . . .

AFTER WHICH THE PRIEST SHALL PROCEED, SAYING.  
 LIFT UP YOUR HEARTS . . .

IT IS VERY MEET . . . EVERLASTING GOD.

HERE SHALL FOLLOW THE PROPER PREFACE . . . OR

ELSE IMMEDIATELY SHALL <sup>be said or sung by the Priest,</sup> follow.

THEREFORE WITH ANGELS . . . SAYING,  
*Priest and People.*

HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, . . .

#### PROPER PREFACES.

UPON CHRISTMAS . . .

UPON EASTER . . .

UPON ASCENSION . . .

UPON WHITSUNDAY . . .

UPON THE FEAST OF TRINITY ONLY, <sup>may be said,</sup>

WHO ART ONE GOD, . . . OR INEQUALITY. THERE-  
 FORE WITH ANGELS, &c.

*Or else this may be said, the words (Holy Father) being  
 retained in the introductory Address.*

*For the precious death and merits of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and for the sending to us of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter ; who are one with thee in thy Eternal Godhead. Therefore with Angels, &c.*

After each of which Prefaces shall immediately be sung or said,

Therefore with Angels . . . Amen.

THEN SHALL THE PRIEST, KNEELING DOWN AT THE LORD'S TABLE, SAY IN THE NAME OF ALL <sup>those who</sup> them that SHALL RECEIVE THE COMMUNION, THIS PRAYER FOLLOWING.

WE DO NOT PRESUME TO COME . . . AMEN.

WHEN THE PRIEST, STANDING BEFORE THE TABLE, HATH SO ORDERED . . . HE SHALL SAY THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION AS FOLLOWETH.

*All glory be to thee,*

ALMIGHTY GOD OUR HEAVENLY  
*for that thou,*  
FATHER, ^ who OF THY TENDER MERCY . . . MEMORY  
*and sacrifice*  
OF THAT HIS PRECIOUS DEATH ^ , UNTIL HIS  
COMING AGAIN :

*[The following portion of this Prayer is omitted here and placed after the oblation as the Invocation.]*

*The Invocation.*

*And*

Hear us, O merciful Father, ^ WE MOST HUMBLY  
*O merciful Father, to hear us : and, of thy almighty*  
BESEECH THEE, ^ and grant that  
*goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and*  
*Holy Spirit*  
we receiving THESE THY ^ CREATURES OF BREAD  
*gifts and*  
*that we receiving them*  
AND WINE, ^ ACCORDING TO THY SON OUR





COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS HIMSELF, AND then PROCEED TO DELIVER THE SAME TO THE BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS IN LIKE MANNER (IF ANY BE PRESENT) AND AFTER THAT TO THE PEOPLE ALSO

IN ORDER, INTO THEIR HANDS, ALL <sup>devoutly</sup> meekly KNEELING.

*And sufficient opportunity shall be given to those present to communicate.*

AND WHEN HE DELIVERETH THE BREAD to any one HE SHALL SAY,

THE BODY . . . WITH THANKSGIVING.

AND THE MINISTER <sup>who</sup> that DELIVERETH THE CUP to any one, SHALL SAY,

THE BLOOD . . . BE THANKFUL.

IF THE CONSECRATED BREAD OR WINE BE all SPENT BEFORE ALL HAVE COMMUNICATED, THE PRIEST IS TO CONSECRATE MORE, ACCORDING TO THE

FORM BEFORE PRESCRIBED : BEGINNING AT <sup>All</sup> (Our *glory be to thee, Almighty God,* Saviour Christ in the same night, &c.) for the blessing of the Bread ; and at (Likewise after Supper, &c.) for the blessing of the cup.

*and ending with the words, partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood.*

WHEN ALL HAVE COMMUNICATED . . .

THEN SHALL THE <sup>Minister</sup> Priest SAY THE LORD'S PRAYER . . .

OUR FATHER <sup>who</sup> which ART IN HEAVEN, HALLOWED BE THY NAME. THY KINGDOM COME. THY WILL BE

DONE <sup>on</sup> in EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN. GIVE US THIS

DAY OUR DAILY BREAD. AND FORGIVE US OUR  
*those who*  
 TRESPASSES, AS WE FORGIVE them that TRESPASS  
 AGAINST US. AND LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION,  
 BUT DELIVER US FROM EVIL. FOR THINE IS THE  
*and*  
 KINGDOM, ^ THE POWER AND THE GLORY, FOR  
 EVER AND EVER, AMEN.

[*The following Prayer is placed above after the Invocation  
 and before the Rubric.*]

After shall be said as followeth.

O Lord and heavenly Father, We thy humble servants  
*And we earnestly*  
 entirely ^ DESIRE THY FATHERLY GOODNESS MERCIFULLY  
 TO ACCEPT . . . AND HERE WE OFFER AND PRESENT UNTO THEE,  
 O LORD, OUR SELVES, OUR SOULS AND BODIES, TO BE A REASONABLE,  
 HOLY, AND *living*  
 lively SACRIFICE UNTO THEE ; HUMBLY BESEECHING  
*and all others shall be*  
 THEE, THAT all WE ^ WHO ^ are PARTAKERS  
*worthily receive the most precious Body and  
 Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ*  
 OF THIS HOLY COMMUNION, MAY ^ BE fulfilled  
*and made one body with him that he may dwell in*  
 WITH THY GRACE, AND HEAVENLY BENEDICTION. ^  
*us, and we in him.* are

^ AND ALTHOUGH WE be UNWORTHY, . . . AMEN.

*After shall be said as followeth.*

Or this,

ALMIGHTY AND EVERLIVING GOD, . . . AMEN.

, *all standing, Gloria in*  
 THEN SHALL BE SAID OR SUNG. ^  
*excelsis ; or some proper hymn from the Selection.*

GLORY BE TO GOD ON HIGH, AND <sup>on</sup> in EARTH PEACE . .

O LORD THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON, <sup>Jesus</sup> Jesu CHRIST, . . .  
 . . . AMEN.

THEN THE PRIEST <sup>the</sup> (or BISHOP IF HE BE PRESENT)  
 SHALL LET THEM DEPART WITH THIS BLESSING.

THE PEACE OF GOD WHICH PASSETH ALL UNDER-  
 STANDING . . . AMEN.

<sup>that may</sup>  
 COLLECTS ^ to BE SAID after the Offertory, when there  
 is no Communion, every such day one, or more ; and the  
 same may be said also as often as *on* occasion shall serve,  
 AFTER THE COLLECTS either OF MORNING OR EVENING

<sup>or</sup> PRAYER, ^ <sup>at</sup> COMMUNION, or Litany by THE DIS-  
 CRETION OF THE MINISTER.

ASSIST US MERCIFULLY, . . . . . AMEN.

O Almighty Lord and everlasting God, . . . . . Amen.

GRANT WE BESEECH THEE, . . . . . AMEN.

*Direct*

Prevent US, O LORD, . . . . . AMEN.

ALMIGHTY GOD, THE FOUNTAIN OF ALL

WISDOM . . . . . AMEN.

ALMIGHTY GOD, WHO HAST PROMISED TO

HEAR THE PETITIONS OF <sup>those who</sup> them that  
 ASK IN THY SON'S NAME, WE BESEECH  
 THEE MERCIFULLY TO INCLINE THINE

<sup>who</sup>  
 EARS TO US that HAVE NOW MADE OUR  
 PRAYERS . . . . . AMEN.

UPON THE SUNDAYS, AND OTHER HOLY DAYS <sup>though</sup> (if

*Sermon or*  
 THERE BE NO  $\wedge$  COMMUNION) SHALL BE SAID ALL  
 THAT IS APPOINTED AT THE COMMUNION, *unto* until THE  
 END OF THE *Gospel,* general Prayer (for the whole state of Christ's  
 Church Militant here in earth) together with one or more  
 of these Collects last before rehearsed, CONCLUDING WITH  
 THE BLESSING.

And there shall be no Celebration . . . according to his discretion.

And if there be not above twenty persons . . . communicate with the Priest.

And in Cathedral, and Collegiate Churches, . . . cause to the contrary.

And to take away all occasion of dissension . . . may be gotten

*consecrated*  
 AND IF ANY OF THE  $\wedge$  BREAD AND WINE REMAIN  
*after the Communion*

$\wedge$  unconsecrated, the Curate shall have it to his own use : but if any remain of that which was consecrated, IT SHALL NOT BE CARRIED OUT OF THE CHURCH, BUT THE *Minister* Priest, AND such OTHER of the COMMUNICANTS as he shall then call unto him, SHALL, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE BLESSING, REVERENTLY EAT AND DRINK THE SAME.

The Bread and Wine for the Communion . . . at the charges of the parish.

*When the Minister giveth warning for the Celebration of the Holy Communion (which he shall always do upon the Sunday, or some Holy-day, immediately preceding), he shall read this Exhortation following ; or so much thereof as, in his discretion, he may think convenient.*

*Dearly beloved, on —— day next . . . all scruple and doubtfulness.*

*Or, in case he shall see the People negligent to come to the Holy Communion, instead of the former, he shall use this Exhortation.*

*Dearly beloved brethren, on —— I intend . . . our heavenly Father.*

And note, that every parishioner shall communicate . . . to be paid.

After the Divine Service ended, the money ... as the Ordinary shall appoint.

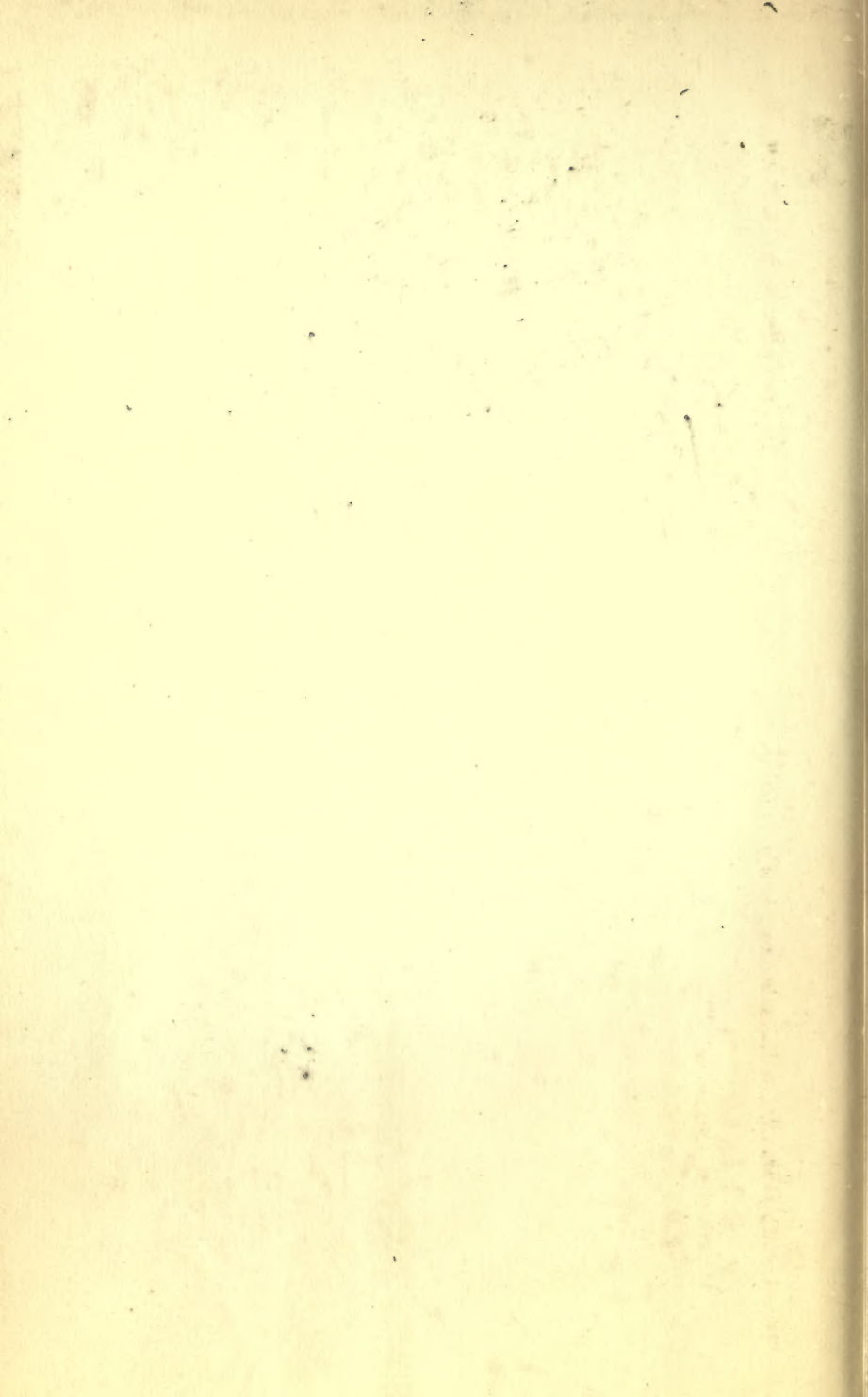
Whereas it is ordained in this Office, for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants should receive the same kneeling . . . than one.

PRINTED AT OXFORD, ENGLAND  
BY FREDERICK HALL  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY









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5149 Langstaff, John B

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